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University of California
Berkeley, California

Women in Politics Oral History Project

Jean Wood Fuller

ORGANIZING WOMEN: CAREERS IN VOLUNTEER

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION

With Introductions by

Lovilla Lalor

M.F. Small

Isabelle Swartz

Mildred Younger

An Interview Conducted by
Miriam Feingold Stein

Copy No. /



Jean Wood Fuller, 1954

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PREFACE

The following interview is one of a series of tape-recorded memoirs in the California Women Political Leaders Oral History Project. The series has been designed to study the political activities of a representative group of California women who became active in politics during the years between the passage of the woman's suffrage amendment and the current feminist movement--roughly the years between 1920 and 1965. They represent a variety of views: conservative, moderate, liberal, and radical, although most of them worked within the Democratic and Republican parties. They include elected and appointed officials at national, state, and local governmental levels. For many the route to leadership was through the political party--primarily those divisions of the party reserved for women.

Regardless of the ultimate political level attained, these women have all worked in election campaigns on behalf of issues and candidates. They have raised funds, addressed envelopes, rung doorbells, watched polls, staffed offices, given speeches, planned media coverage, and when permitted, helped set policy. While they enjoyed many successes, a few also experienced defeat as candidates for public office.

Their different family and cultural backgrounds, their social attitudes, and their personalities indicate clearly that there is no typical woman political leader; their candid, first-hand observations and their insights about their experiences provide fresh source material for the social and political history of women in the past half century.

In a broader framework their memoirs provide valuable insights into the political process as a whole. The memoirists have thoughtfully discussed details of party organization and the work of the men and women who served the party. They have analysed the process of selecting party leaders and candidates, running campaigns, raising funds, and drafting party platforms, as well as the more subtle aspects of political life such as maintaining harmony and coping with fatigue, frustration, and defeat. Perceived through it all are the pleasures of friendships, struggles, and triumphs in a common cause.

The California Women Political Leaders Oral History Project has been financed by both an outright and a matching grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Matching funds were provided by the Rockefeller Foundation for the Helen Gahagan Douglas unit of the project, and by individuals who were interested in supporting memoirs of their friends and colleagues. Professors Judith Blake Davis, Albert Lepawsky, and Walton Bean have served as principal investigators during the period July 1975-December 1977 that the project was underway. This series is the second phase of the Women in Politics Oral History Project, the first of which dealt with the experiences of eleven women who had been leaders and rank-and-file workers in the suffrage movement.

The Regional Oral History Office was established to tape record autobiographical interviews with persons significant in the history of the West and the nation. The Office is under the administrative supervision of James D. Hart, Director of The Bancroft Library. Interviews were conducted by Amelia R. Fry, Miriam Stein, Gabrielle Morris, and Malca Chall.

20 May 1977
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Malca Chall, Project Director
Women in Politics Oral History Project

Willa Baum, Department Head
Regional Oral History Office

CALIFORNIA WOMEN POLITICAL LEADERS ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

- March Fong Eu, *High Achieving Nonconformist in Local and State Government*. 1977
- Jean Wood Fuller, *Organizing Women: Careers in Volunteer Politics and Government Administration*. 1977
- Elizabeth R. Gatov, *Grassroots Party Organizer to United States Treasurer*. 1977
- Bernice Hubbard May, *A Native Daughter's Leadership in Public Affairs*. 1976
- Hulda Hoover McLean, *A Conservative Crusader for Good Government*. 1977
- Julia Porter, *Dedicated Democrat and City Planner*. 1977
- Vera Schultz, *Marin County Perspective on Ideals and Realities in State and Local Government*. 1977
- Clara Shirpser, *One Women's Role in Democratic Party Politics*. 1975
- Elizabeth Snyder, *California's First Woman State Party Chairman*. 1977
- Eleanor Wagner, *Independent Political Coalitions: Electoral, Legislative, and Community*. 1977
- Carolyn Wolfe, *Educating for Citizenship: A Career in Community Affairs and the Democratic Party, 1906-1976*. 1977

Interviews in Process

Frances Albrier	La Rue McCormick
Marjorie Benedict	Emily Pike
Odessa Cox	Wanda Sankary
Pauline Davis	Hope Mendoza Schecter
Ann Eliaser	Carmen Warschaw
Kimiko Fujii	Carol Arth Waters
Elinor R. Heller	Rosalind Wyman
Patricia R. Hitt	Mildred Younger
Lucile Hosmer	

June 1977

Helen Gahagan Douglas Unit

Interviews in Process

Helen Gahagan Douglas

Juanita Barbee

Rachel Bell

Fay Bennett

Evelyn Chavoor

Alis De Sola

Tilford Dudley

Walter Gahagan

Arthur Goldschmidt

Elizabeth Goldschmidt

Leo Goodman

Charles Hogan

Mary Keyserling

Judge Byron Lindsley

Helen Lustig

Philip Noel-Baker

Frank Rogers

INTRODUCTION by Lovilla Lalor

I can vouch that it's possible for a person to change the course of another's life and personality in just one meeting. It is what happened to me in 1952 when I met Jean Wood Fuller.

I was a happy wife and mother and a busy manager of a local safety council, it is true, but while I was a dedicated Republican from birth, I was, to say the least, a rather unwilling and ineffective President of the Stockton Council of Republican Women. What possible assistance could women be in that man's world of electing public officials beyond stuffing envelopes and checking precinct lists?

In her capacity as President of the California Federation Jean paid a visit to our small club. She was absolutely charming, completely organized, convincingly friendly and so confidently assured that women in politics could be a compelling force. I was determined after just one meeting to try and emulate such a shining example. Consequently I put more effort in my presidency and received much more satisfaction in the completion of a successful campaign in that presidential year in our federal elections, and of course in the city, county and state returns.

There were other meetings in the months and years ahead, first in the political arena, and then in Civil Defense which was another great bastion of the male. All plans were conceived, I felt, made and executed by men without benefit of advice from any "little woman" when most of those left on the scene to carry out the plans would be uninformed, uncommitted and uneducated females. Jean Fuller as an executive of the Office of Civil Defense and Mobilization and later my boss, pointed the way to women by her programs, ideas and advice.

I can truthfully say I never called on Jean that she did not wholeheartedly respond. She could see possibilities in people they never felt themselves. It has definitely been a pleasure and rewarding experience to know and work with Jean and I treasure her friendship to this day, even though ours is now just a "Christmas Card" correspondence of retired people.

Lovilla Lalor

San Jose, California
29 April 1977

JEAN WOOD FULLER, LOYAL FRIEND by M.F. Small

My friendship with Jean Wood Fuller, which I cherish, goes back to the 1946 campaign of Earl Warren for re-election as Governor of California.

I was employed as "advance man" by the Northern California committee for that campaign, and also accompanied Mr. Warren on his travels while he was knocking out his Democratic opponent--and his friend--Robert W. Kenny, winning the nomination of Kenny's party in the June primaries as well as the nomination of his own party.

Jean was an active worker in the Republican Women of Southern California, and when Warren's itinerary took him to the San Fernando Valley, she hosted a large reception at her home. It was actually one of the best rallies of the campaign!

Jean persevered in her loyalty to Earl Warren when other Republicans found serious fault with his policies as Governor and his decisions as United States Chief Justice. She was equally loyal to United States Senator Thomas H. Kuchel--whom she knows as "Tommy." I was associated with Kuchel for a decade after eight exciting years on the Governor's staff in Sacramento.

She was supporter and friend, too, of Senator William F. Knowland, and when Val Peterson, U.S. Civil Defense Administrator, was looking for a qualified candidate to be his assistant in charge of the agency's Women's Division, Knowland, with Kuchel's enthusiastic agreement, recommended, after consulting her, Mrs. Fuller for the responsibility.

She handled it with intelligence, tact and a forcefulness which men too often do not believe is within a woman's capability! She sought and got the active support of women leaders all around America, with the result that civil defense had meaning in their communities.

John Patterson, Val Peterson's principal assistant, told me that after Mrs. Fuller had been in charge of the Women's Division for a short time, it required a minimum of his and Peterson's attention. "She's doing what needs to be done--we're spared for our other work because of her initiative and accomplishments."

Her appointment, of course, was political, and with the change of administration in 1961, Jean moved to the Presidio of San Francisco to fill a position with the Army. In it, as was to be expected, she also proved her worth.

In her handling of a personal problem since her retirement, Jean has again demonstrated her fine quality. A series of operations on her eyes has neither deterred nor discouraged her. She has not given up, as others might. Throughout the ordeal she has with dignity and good cheer and without complaint--indeed, even making light of it when talking to friends--applied herself to overcoming the misfortune.

Merrill F. Small

Sacramento, California
21 August 1977

INTRODUCTION by Col. Isabelle J. Swartz (RET.)

At the end of a very long day in 1973, after complex and exhausting problems, a young enlisted woman assigned to the Office of Public Affairs, Headquarters, Sixth United States Army, Presidio of San Francisco, California, commented, "What every office needs is a Mrs. Fuller."

From 1965 to 1975 Mrs. Fuller was assigned as a staff officer to the Office of Plans, Operations, and Training, Sixth U.S. Army, and Cater to the Community Relations Division, Office of the Chief of Public Affairs at the same headquarters.

No commercial firm or government agency operates effectively without knowledgeable and skilled planning officers. Private enterprise and government agencies respond to national and international events and adapt their missions to these influences. An effective planning officer must possess a broad knowledge of pertinent current events and applicable regulations, accuracy, absolute attention to detail, as well as the imagination to project solutions for possible avenues of action.

Mrs. Fuller possessed all these qualities and was responsible for developing a series of plans ranging from possible national emergencies to conservation of energy resources and civil defense. In the Public Affairs Office she continued planning activities, and also served as the staff officer responsible for execution of such plans. The period 1971 to 1974 was an extremely active one for Public Affairs personnel, with activities ranging from dissident demonstrations by groups protesting this country's involvement in the war in Southeast Asia and environmental group controversies to projected celebrations honoring the 200 years of United States Army Service in 1975 and the nation's Bicentennial in 1976.

Mrs. Fuller's exceptional excellence as a staff officer was established early in her government service, and was recognized by her civilian and military supervisors. The significant factors in Mrs. Fuller's success were her ability to produce lucid, logical plans in a notable short time, her complete devotion to the problem at hand, and her moral courage in presenting her convictions.

Mrs. Fuller was the compleat staff officer. Regardless of job title or officially described duties, her positive attitude and approach to any problem and her remarkable ability to isolate a problem and to develop a practical solution resulted in a consistently high performance of duty. She also was a patient and willing teacher to any new member of the staff and younger employees (military and civilian) frequently sought her counsel on professional and personal problems.

She was a bright and shining island in the sea of long and frustrating days in offices which frequently were understaffed and lacked sufficiently seasoned personnel to accomplish the assigned mission within the normal work week. Mrs. Fuller's days often ran twelve to sixteen hours, and many a sagging spirit was lifted by the sound of her laughter (which could not possibly be mistaken for someone else's) when some small item amused her.

In 1973 as the first prisoners of war returned from Southeast Asia, Mrs. Fuller was the steady pin which guided the press center responding to queries from national and international news media. In that emotional and very personal atmosphere, Mrs. Fuller was at her very best. She responded warmly and tactfully to families of the returning prisoners; factually to news media questions. The enlisted woman was correct--every office needs a Mrs. Fuller.

Her professional standards of excellence apply in her personal life. As a friend she is always responsive to others, understanding, congenial, and eternally loyal. Courage, integrity, compassion, and selflessness are her hallmarks. She has all the respect, admiration, esteem, and affection any friends or office staff can accord. She gives so much--willingly and freely--and receives much less in return.

Mrs. Fuller is perfection.

Col. Isabelle J. Swartz (RET.)

Tacoma, Washington
9 November 1977

INTRODUCTION by Mildred Younger

In the politically turbulent period during which I first met Jean Wood Fuller, she was a pretty, smiling, vivacious oasis. I have never known how much, if any, difference there is in our ages because Jean is the kind of person with whom one feels so comfortable that details like chronological age are totally superfluous. I felt that she was simply and naturally a dear friend. The fact that I really know little of the dates and events of her life, other than political, still seems irrelevant today.

Actually, I was so torn and upset by the quarreling and jockeying for position which seemed to prevail in the statewide California Federation of Republican Women around 1948 to 1950, that without a person of Jean's happy magnetism and intelligent down-to-earth leadership, I would have been among many who undoubtedly would have dropped out. Most of the turmoil centered around whether or not the California Chapter of the Federation of Republican Women was going to comply with what I considered the somewhat rigid, but thoroughly proper limitations in the Organization's Charter. They were written to avoid divisiveness.

Earl Warren was Governor at the time, and, as is often the case, a Governor who is very popular with the voters does not necessarily spend much time and energy catering to inter-party whims or organizational demands. Political organizations in general seem to have a tendency to bring out expressions of the most extreme elements. This is not only misleading to the general public, but bothersome to public officials, because they find themselves frequently embarrassed by members of their own party organizations who would consume their entire energy should the officials permit them to do so. At the particular time to which I am referring, it was frequently admitted among Republican workers that nobody liked Earl Warren but the voters.

A very popular Governor offers a political party an opportunity to grow in stature and influence, but it also presents some hazards and all of those hazards seem to come into play at the time that Jean Fuller decided to find out once and for all whether or not the Federation of Republican Women intended to settle down and elect Republican candidates or spend all of its energies squabbling. It was her calm, her sense of humor and political wisdom that caused the Federation not only to survive, but to grow substantially and to attract outstanding women from all walks of life. I don't believe that the Federation has since ever enjoyed as great a period of growth in both numbers of women attracted to it or in the quality of leadership.

When Jean was elected State President of the Federation she made it perfectly clear that the mission of the Federation was to be one of support and that the days of petty in-fighting were over.

Although I have come to know a great many outstanding women in both political parties, I don't believe that I have ever known one who proceeded with as much clear-headed determination and earned such broad across-the-board respect for herself and the organization she headed as Jean Wood Fuller.

Mildred Younger

Los Angeles, California
28 July 1977

INTERVIEW HISTORY

When the Regional Oral History Office's Women Political Leaders Project was still in its infancy, Jean Wood Fuller's name was recommended as someone definitely to interview. The recommendation came from Merrill F. "Pop" Small, a Sacramento newspaperman and close observer of the political scene, an aide to Governor Warren, and a valued advisor to several ROHO projects on California politics, and the suggestion was soon echoed by others. Having headed the California Federation of Republican Women during a tempestuous period of its growth, worked actively in many Republican campaigns, and served in several high capacities in the federal government during the Eisenhower administration and subsequently, Mrs. Fuller could provide unique insights into the problems and prospects of women in politics in the pre-women's movement period. In March of 1976 Mrs. Fuller was invited to participate, and promptly and graciously accepted.

The series of six interviews began on August 27, 1976, and continued on a more or less weekly basis until October 12, 1976. The interviews were held in the living room of Mrs. Fuller's warm and attractively furnished home in Oakmont, an adult community nestled in the hills outside Santa Rosa, California. With the graciousness and competence that I soon learned had characterized her whole career, she quickly assessed the interview situation, and before I had arrived for the second interview she had set up a card table on which I could place my tape recorder and notes. We soon established a pattern: I arrived at noon, Mrs. Fuller served a refreshing lunch, and the afternoon was spent tape-recording, with periodic breaks for iced tea.

Before my first visit I had asked Mrs. Fuller if she had any papers or scrapbooks that I might review. When I arrived for our first meeting, an unrecorded planning session, there were several scrapbooks of photos, documents, and clippings piled on the dining room table. Characteristically, she apologized that there was not more material and that what she had was not better organized; yet I found the scrapbooks, which she allowed me to borrow, highly informative and productive, full of material to be found nowhere else. We referred to these scrapbooks periodically during the taping sessions, as well as to an extensive photograph collection which decorated the hallway wall and which illustrated Mrs. Fuller's rich career. Mrs. Fuller allowed me to borrow several of her photographs and documents and they are reproduced in this volume.

One scrapbook of photos was of particular value: a collection of pictures illustrating the effects of an atomic bomb test in Nevada, which Mrs. Fuller had witnessed when she was Director of Women's Activities of the Federal Civil

Defense Administration. When I asked if I could borrow the collection and reproduce part or all of it for inclusion with the interview, Mrs. Fuller not only readily agreed, but quietly and efficiently obtained clearance from the appropriate federal agency for us to use the pictures, and she ultimately agreed to deposit them in The Bancroft Library. The Pentagon, to whom her letter was ultimately referred, could not have been more helpful. (See footnote, p. 203.)

Lovilla Lalor in her introduction describes Mrs. Fuller as "absolutely charming, completely organized, convincingly friendly, and...confidently assured that women in politics could be a compelling force." This memoir abundantly illustrates this and more: her great organizational ability combined with winning femininity--proof that a woman could be effective even in the tough "man's world" of politics and civil defense; her leadership in the California Federation of Republican Women and in Republican campaigns in Southern California in the 1940s and early 1950s that give insight into the role of women in politics, the Republican party, and the geographic area; her rich view of the functioning of civil defense and disaster planning in the 1950s and 1960s, and her civilian's perspective on planning and public relations at the Presidio of the U.S. Army; and her recollections, in vivid and personal terms, of other outstanding women in Republican politics. One thing more became clear as I got to know Mrs. Fuller: her deep admiration for the legions of volunteer women whom she helped organize. Modesty about her own leadership ability even led her to express reservations about the title I had tentatively assigned to the memoir; she objected that it did not say anything about the volunteer women to whose work her success, she said, was due.

The transcribed interviews were lightly edited by the interviewer, with very minor rearrangement of material to maintain chronological continuity, and the transcription was then sent to Mrs. Fuller for her review. With characteristic thoroughness she reviewed the manuscript, made several corrections and additions, and attended to the countless small details involved in finishing the volume: referring me to the appropriate people at the Presidio to secure copies of her Bicentennial Plan and Presidio History, supplying a list of names of friends and co-workers who could write introductions, suggesting names of persons and publications to be sent announcements of the completion of the manuscript, and much more.

Mrs. Fuller's prompt attention to the editing (she consistently returned the corrected chapters within two weeks of my sending them to her) was all the more remarkable considering that her vision was greatly impaired as the result of a series of eye operations. Yet throughout the interviews and editing she applied herself to the task, in "Pop" Small's words, "with dignity and good cheer and without complaint."

This oral history memoir should provide scholars with a rich source of insight into women in politics in mid-twentieth-century California, as well as into politics, federal service, and civil defense.

Miriam F. Stein
Interviewer-Editor

14 October 1977
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PARTIAL BIOGRAPHY

MRS. JEAN W. FULLER
Special Program Officer
Western Instructor Training Center

Native of Los Angeles, California

Community Activities have included:

American National Red Cross, Los Angeles Chapter
Gray Lady, Birmingham Hospital, San Fernando Valley
Home Service Corps
Speaker's Bureau Chairman
Fund Drive Chairman, Encino
Production Unit Chairman, Canoga Park

Aircraft Warning Service
Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, Women's Division
National Safety Council, Women's Conference, Organization Committee
Altrusa Club, Battle Creek, Michigan
Business and Professional Women, Los Angeles Luncheon Club
Campaign Director for Candidates for public office

Government Service:

National Director, Women's Activities, Federal Civil Defense
Administration, 1954-1958
Chairman, National Women's Advisory Committee, Federal Civil
Defense Administration
Editor, Newsletter, "By, For and About Women in Civil Defense"
Participant, Atomic Test, 1955, in trench 3500 yards from ground zero
Consultant to Director, Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization

Private Business:

Real Estate
American Express Company, Western Representative, Credit Card
Department

I FAMILY AND EDUCATION

[Interview 1, 20 August 1976]

[begin tape 1, side 1]

Family

Stein: I think probably the best way to begin is at the beginning and start with your own background. When and where were you born?

Fuller: January 25, 1912, in Los Angeles.

Stein: I'd like to get a little about your family.

Fuller: All right. Well, my dad and mother were just hardworking people. Daddy migrated from Syracuse, New York to Waterloo, Iowa and then to Alamosa, Colorado. That is, his mother and father did, so naturally he went along. So, as a young man he was working on the ranch in Colorado. Alamosa, as you know from weather reports, is sometimes the coldest spot in the United States. Forty-two below zero is not unusual.

My mother was born and raised in Kankakee [Illinois], in a very large family of ten. She got a job in Chicago with Carson, Pirie, Scott, which was the big merchandising house, and she was a traveling saleslady in the wild country of Pierre, South Dakota, and North Dakota, and other midwest states. She was quite venturesome, for those days. When she was traveling in Colorado she met my father and they were married there.

My dad also worked for what they called the Home Telephone Company, which was later taken over by Bell. He ran the first telephone lines from Alamosa down through that Godforsaken country toward New Mexico. It was really rugged.

Fuller: They moved to California in 1910. And I came along in 1912. He was working for the old Bell telephone system in Los Angeles installing new telephones. We'd drive past places in downtown Los Angeles out on Sunset Boulevard and along there, and he'd spin great yarns about installing the first telephones all through that downtown Sunset District area.

We lived in South Pasadena, so the earliest remembrances that I have of my childhood was in South Pasadena. Because I was the first grandchild with a lot of adoring aunts around, I think I must've been quite spoiled. They all paid so much attention to me and made me feel so important, you know, a five or six year old child.

Then in 1917 my grandfather couldn't get any help on the ranch back in Colorado so we moved back there. We only stayed a year. I had the experience of going through one of those cold, cold winters in that high country in Colorado and it was brutal. Then we came back and settled in Wilmington, [California] and my dad went to work for the Union Oil Company. There was a new refinery there. So he worked there up until the time he retired.

My mother, along about 1922, got her license to sell real estate and then she became a real estate broker. There weren't too many women in the business then. So while I was in school she had her real estate office. They were just average, hardworking people and that's all I can say.

Mother and Her Family

Stein: Let me back up a little bit. Your mother, particularly, sounds like an unusual lady, going off on all these trips.

Fuller: She was at that point of time, in the, oh I suppose about 1905. No, nothing could stop my mother.

Stein: Where were her parents from? Do you know?

Fuller: Well, in the Illinois area. I'm not just sure. I've heard Kankakee, [Illinois], and Momence, but Kankakee mostly is where they lived.

Stein: Do you know what background she had, what nationality her folks were?

Fuller: Yes. Well, my Grandmother Warriner, see that little picture over there?

Stein: Oh, yes. I've meant to ask you who that was.

Fuller: That's my Grandmother Warriner whom I adored. She was a Burns and she never wanted it mentioned that she was related to Bobbie Burns because he was such an alcoholic, you know, and she didn't approve of such things. Warriner is an English name. So, it was a mixture of Scottish and English.

Stein: Do you know when her family had migrated to this country?

Fuller: No. Haven't the vaguest idea.

Stein: Do you know what sort of upbringing your mother had, how much schooling she had?

Fuller: Just high school.

Stein: This was in Illinois?

Fuller: Yes. You see, it was a very large family of ten children. My grandfather worked for the postal department. Postal clerks didn't make very much money. And if you had ten children, why the girls and the boys got out to work as soon as possible.

My mother was a very fine seamstress and my aunt tells me that when she was very young, ten or twelve years old, she would go out to work for people, doing their sewing and things like that. I think when she first went to Chicago she went to work in a tailor shop, because she knew how to tailor beautifully.

Stein: This was right after she graduated from high school?

Fuller: Yes. Then I guess she didn't like that and got a chance to take this position on the road, so as a very young woman, in her early twenties, she was out traveling.

Stein: She would travel alone?

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: Was that seen as unusual or scandalous for a young woman to be doing in that period?

Fuller: It didn't. She never seemed to think of it that way. What she would be doing would be selling dry goods, you know, showing samples of dry goods to these little stores in these outlying state areas. I guess she didn't think anything of it at all. It was just a way of making a little bit better living than she'd been making before.

Stein: Did she have any special trouble being a woman on the road?

Fuller: No. Never mentioned it. If she did she, I think, would've mentioned it, but it was just a job for her to do. Since I've done so much traveling for dear government since then, I know it must've been kind of rugged, going into strange towns, but she was given her route, who she was to call on.

She always told the most vivid stories of going into Pierre, South Dakota, because that was probably one of the larger towns at that time, but it was so beastly cold. It was forty below or something like that. She'd talk about how she'd always have a hotel room and all it would have would be a little washbasin in those days. She would tell about washing out handkerchiefs--all ladies had to have their handkerchiefs, of course--then she would dry them on the windowpane. I've used the trick myself. You know, when you don't have an iron you wash your hankies and put them on the windowpane and in the morning they're all dried and ironed. [Laughter]

Stein: I'll have to remember that trick.

Fuller: It worked.

Stein: How did she travel?

Fuller: By train.

Stein: Lugging her sample cases with her?

Fuller: Lugging her wares. Yes.

Stein: That's really quite remarkable.

Fuller: Well, of course, she was my mother, but I think Mother could've been a very successful business person in anything she tried but, of course, when she was raising me she stayed home. Then when I got to be about twelve years old she went into the real estate business and she sold quite a lot of property. Of course, in those days property didn't sell for the amounts of money that they do now.

Stein: I just realized we don't have her name on the record, or your father's.

Fuller: All right. My father was Bert Wood and she was Maude Warriner Wood.

Stein: I suppose with all the traveling that she did that at least in her young adulthood she didn't have much chance to be involved in any community activities or church activities.

Fuller: No. No. My grandfather was what she always called a hard-shelled Baptist and it made it very difficult on my grandmother to have a family of ten children because he would allow absolutely no cooking to be done on Sunday. He followed the precepts of the Baptist church and there was to be no work done on Sunday. So to feed ten children on Sunday, think of all the work she would have to do on Friday and Saturday so that there would be meals, because he absolutely forbade any cooking on Sunday.

He contracted tuberculosis--in those days they called it consumption--and they moved to Colorado Springs and he passed away there.

Then Grandmother had a very small settlement from the government because he had been a postal worker. She took what little money she had and she brought six of her children to California. Harry, the oldest became an architect in Gary, Indiana, and Walter, the second boy, married and stayed in Colorado Springs. The youngest boy, Stuart was killed at about the age of two, when he wandered onto a train track near their home in Kankakee.

Stein: How did she choose California?

Fuller: Well, she didn't want to be in the cold country, I guess, and my dad and mother had moved to California. With what money she had she bought ten acres out in Montebello. At that time Montebello was just a little agricultural community. It was ten acres of violets and it had a house on it. She figured that she had enough children that they would be able to pick violets and make a living.

Well, of course, that was not a very successful operation. So she moved to Pasadena and rented a very large house on Lake Street, big old two story house.

By then some of her girls were going to college, so she took in roomers. She had many, many lovely young ladies who came to live with her from time to time during their school year. For years afterward, wherever she would be, people would come to see Mother Warriner. She was always Mother Warriner and she was a very adored person.

Stein: You say that some of her girls did go to college?

Fuller: Yes. Both my grandfather and my grandmother were musical. Both played the piano very well. Aunt Ella seemed to have the talent for music, so she went to some music school but I don't know which one. Then she became a church organist. She was a very, very fine organist.

Fuller: Another aunt, the one I spoke of that I correspond with now, went to business school and then she went into business and bookkeeping and things like that, secretarial work.

Then another daughter went to--I'm trying to think of the name--there was a very exclusive school in Pasadena. Not Brookside or Miss Brooks. But anyway, she took teacher training there. It was a lovely school.

So, my first school experience was going to Miss Brooks because my Aunt Ruth was a teacher there. As I look back on it, I think it must've been a great privilege for me to go to that little school because in kindergarten all these young women who were learning to be teachers were quite experimental and innovative. They taught us French in kindergarten, which I promptly forgot. But I can look at French words and know what they mean but I didn't keep on with it.

Then I went to public school in South Pasadena when I got into the first grade. It was just a little too expensive to send me to private school.

Father and His Family

Stein: I'd just like to back up again and finish with your parents. I think we have a good picture here of your mother. I wonder if we could just fill in a little bit about your father.

Fuller: Well, my dad was a very hardworking man who could do absolutely anything with his hands. He was a very good wood craftsman. He was a very good electrician and, of course, those were early days of electricity so he was much in demand. That's why he could always get a job with the telephone company. He didn't like working for the telephone company very much.

Stein: Why not?

Fuller: I don't know. I was too small to know but he decided to go to the Union Oil Company in Wilmington. We had a family joke that if anything went wrong in anybody's house or any tools or any equipment, they'll just say, "Well, we'll get Bert to fix it."

At Christmastimes we'd always gather at Grandmother's house, all the daughters and then whatever grandchildren had come along. The adults didn't give each other presents--the presents were just for

Fuller: children--but the adults drew lots as to who would give somebody else a joke present. My Aunt Charlotte found one that I wish we still had. It was a little wooden parrot and you'd pull its tail and it would go clickety-clack and it almost sounded exactly like "Bert-will-fix-it, Bert-will-fix-it." He was the fixer of the family, whatever went wrong.

Stein: Do you know much about the upbringing that he had in his family?

Fuller: Well, very strict. He was an only child and the kind of young man that got up very early to milk the cows, sell the milk on his way to school. It was just hard work.

Stein: What nationality background is his family?

Fuller: My Grandfather Wood was English, but she was Czechoslovakian.

Stein: Do you know how they met?

Fuller: No, I don't. That was back in New York State.

Stein: What sort of religious education did your father have?

Fuller: Not much. Not much. They always lived far from church so I don't think he ever attended church very much. At the ranch in Colorado it was seven miles into town. Saturday was the day he went to town because Grandmother made butter and had lots of chickens and she took her butter and eggs into town to sell them on Saturdays. So they didn't make a second trip into town on Sunday to go to church. But he always considered himself a Protestant but he was not affiliated with a church.

Life on the ranch was very hard. It was a cattle ranch in Colorado and my grandmother was a marvelous cook with a huge wood stove. She'd get up at three thirty or four in the morning. By the time the ranch hands had done the early morning chores then they'd come in for breakfast and she'd have anywhere from fifteen to thirty men to feed.

Pay in those days, you know, the standard was a dollar a day and your board and they lived in the bunkhouse. So they never had any trouble keeping hired hands or getting hired hands because she had such a terrific reputation as a cook.

Fuller: In addition to pancakes and bacon and eggs--she cured her own bacon, she cured her own ham, churned her own butter--there would be at least four or five pies for breakfast. Then they'd go out to work and they'd come back in for lunch. Now they didn't eat so much for lunch, but she gave them a good lunch. But then they'd have a big meal at night too, so her reputation, the reputation of her food, kept all the hired hands they needed.

Stein: Did you ever get to test out her reputation yourself?

Fuller: Oh, yes. The year we went back there in 1917 I was there and that was very interesting. Although we lived in town, Daddy and Mother would take me out on Saturday and so I'd get to stay there Saturday night.

It was a great treat in the summertime because she had this cream that was just like whipped cream it was so heavy, and so we'd always get to make ice cream on the weekends. On Saturday that was the big treat, homemade ice cream. It was quite a ceremony. Everybody had to take a turn churning that. But her cream was so heavy that it really didn't take much churning. It was practically ice cream before you got started.

This big, old two story ranch house with very high ceiled rooms--in addition to all the other work she did, she would paper every one of those rooms every year. Every spring everything had to come down and she papered all the rooms and painted them all. It was just a spring ritual. I don't know how many layers of paper there were on that house but it must have been awfully thick.

They retired in '24. We went back for the summer and they had an auction and sold off all the cattle and equipment and the things like that. As a child that was a very interesting experience. People came from miles and miles around to those old auctions, you know, bring their own picnic lunches. And they sold my pony.

Stein: That must have been heartbreaking.

Fuller: [Laughter] And my lamb. Grandfather had given me a pony and it was a beautiful, little paint palomino tone. He had given me the saddle and the saddle blanket. Of course, I never rode him very much, because I wasn't there very much. But the pony had to be sold. But Grandfather gave me the money that he got for the pony and for the saddle and the saddle blanket.

Fuller: And then I had a lamb, pet lamb, they had given me and I had taken that into town and I'd bottle fed that. I didn't have a dog at that time so the lamb was my pet. The lamb went in the auction too. So, I got the money for that, but it had to go in the bank and that's where it stayed, till later I got my hands on it and spent it.

Stein: Was that your parents' bidding that it go in the bank?

Fuller: Oh, sure. Yes. You don't do anything foolish like spend money.

Stein: That's a good old American ethic.

Fuller: Yes. And, you know, in those days, they never bought anything for credit. Never buy anything for credit.

When we went to Wilmington--that's when my father went with the Union Oil Company--we rented. At first we were in a flat and then we were in a little house. And then Daddy decided that he was going to build us a house. Well, other than the plumbing, which had to be done by a licensed plumber in those days, he built every single bit of that house.

So that's where I was raised, in this little two bedroom house, two bedrooms and one bathroom. That was the usual size house in those days. From time to time he'd make improvements on it.

Education

Stein: I'd like to back up a second. Your parents married and then settled in Southern California?

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: And then you came along in January of 1912.

Fuller: Right.

Stein: And when you got to be old enough they sent you off to school, as I think you mentioned, to Miss Brooks. That's where you started?

Fuller: Yes. That was in South Pasadena that I started. That was in kindergarten, yes. But then later, you see, we moved to Wilmington when I think I was about in the third grade. So I always went to school in Wilmington after that from third grade on through high school.

Stein: What high school did you go to?

Fuller: Phineas Banning High School. And if you're a California historian you'll know who Phineas Banning is, but very few people do.

Stein: Why don't you just tell me who Phineas Banning is.

Fuller: He was the founder of the harbor and he came in there with the army, the American Army. Then he established docks and loading places and warehouses and that's how Wilmington got started.

Stein: I see. So that's why they'd named a high school after him.

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: Were there any subjects in school that you particularly enjoyed?

Fuller: Yes, I was most interested in what we called civics. I don't know what they call it now. But, government. I was on the debating team and I won the oratorical contest, and drama. And I liked history but I didn't seem to absorb it too well.

I had a very bad time with mathematics. I was determined I was going to get college credits in all subjects, either an A or a B. I had to take freshman algebra over four times, from the same teacher, before I finally passed. I think just out of pity she gave me a B, because the first time I got a D and I could not stand to have a D on my record. Next year I got a C, and then I got a C again. Then I went to summer school, same teacher, and she finally gave me a B because I could not stand to have anything less than a B on my record, because I was determined to go to college, little realizing that my folks just could not afford to send me to college.

Stein: Was this desire to do well in school in part from your parents? Were they pressuring you to do well?

Fuller: Oh, yes. Well, they didn't pressure me. I was a quick learner. Except for algebra. I graduated from high school when I was fifteen, which made it a little difficult socially because the boys in my class would all be seventeen or eighteen, and Mother was very cautious and protective--and rightly she should be--about who I would go out with. And I just wasn't allowed to go a lot of places that other girls who were a little older could. I skipped too many grades when I was in grammar school.

Stein: I was going to ask how you managed to be fifteen when you graduated.

Fuller: In those days they felt that if you had learned your subjects you had to have more challenge, so they'd skip you a half grade. I saw it happen to a bright young boy. He and I skipped right along together until about the seventh grade. For some reason they didn't skip him that year but they did me. And, you know, he just lost interest, and he was a very smart boy. He just lost interest, wouldn't do anything. I think it was just a matter to challenge you to go on.

I'm halfway for it and halfway against it. I know I would've been very mad if they hadn't let me go ahead when I wanted to, when I thought I deserved to. But yet I think there are some subjects that I probably could learn like this [snapping fingers], but I didn't retain them well enough in later years. But I had no problem.

Stein: How would that work? Would you usually skip the second half of a grade?

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: So you'd start fifth grade in the spring?

Fuller: In the fall. We'd call it the "A" and "B" semesters. The "A" semester was from fall till about Christmas or New Years, you see. So then the second semester they'd call my mother in and they'd say, 'Well, there's no point in Jean just studying the same stuff for another six months. If you don't mind we'll put her ahead.' So they just put me ahead.

Stein: Let's say in the fall you were in 4A. Would that mean then in the spring you would go into a 5B or 5A?

Fuller: 5A.

Stein: 5A, I see. Were there any teachers that you particularly remember?

Fuller: Oh, yes. Marvelous teachers that I loved. Perhaps the one who influenced me more than any other was a lady named Martha Krogman, German type spelling. Martha Krogman was the athletics teacher, phys. ed., but she had a great talent for dancing and that was the day of Isadora Duncan. We did lots of dancing in our physical education because she liked it. If you did that part of it then you wouldn't have to go play baseball which I didn't like to do.

I had a friend who was also very interested in dancing. They had a school regulation that was city wide that when you put on any sort of pageant or play you couldn't have a soloist dancer, you had to have

Fuller: two. They wouldn't let anyone be a soloist. So Peggy and I teamed up and we were always paired up that way so that the two of us shared the spotlight.

Then this Miss Krogman was a very famous teacher. She later became very, very famous. She was very young when I had her. She later went to Los Angeles High School, which was a very prestigious high school in the county system. And she became quite famous for her results of her students and their modern dance, you know. She was a lovely lady.

There was a man who had a lot of influence on me. He was a very mild little man. He taught history and civics and I liked him very much, Mr. Welch. That must've been in about 1926 or '27. We got into a discussion in class: who was going to be the next president of the United States. After we'd had the discussion he said, "Well I'll tell you, I think the next man will be Herbert Hoover." This was about two years before Hoover was elected. And I just thought he could do no wrong because he had forecast it.

My mother had an idea, that instead of taking Spanish, which was the only foreign language offered at that time, that I should take Latin because she felt it was the root of all of our languages. So I fought for two years in high school to get Latin and they'd say, "Well, we don't have enough students interested in Latin to offer a course and we can't have a class unless we have ten students." So I went around propagandizing people until I got ten people together who agreed they'd take Latin.

So I did take two years of Latin and I've been very grateful for that because, as you probably know, there are so many words that can be a puzzlement, but if you've got the Latin foundation you can figure out what it means and it has been very helpful to me.

Student Politics

Stein: So you were doing a little political organizing there, even in high school.

Fuller: Oh, in high school I was a pusher, let's say. I hope not obnoxiously. We had a senate, a student senate. I ran for the student senate. Well, of course, it wasn't heard of in those days that a girl would be president of the student body, but at least I was on the senate. Yes, I was always for getting things done.

Stein: What sort of issues would you be concerned with on the senate, the student senate?

Fuller: It was the governing body and if students had become fractious, or being troublesome in school they would be brought before the senate, and then we would recommend to the principal what should be done with them. And in the town of Wilmington, which is a pretty rough part of Southern California with all the docks and fish canneries and whatnot, there were some boys who were pretty troublesome for those days, nothing like boys are today, that I hear about. But yes, I would say civics and government was my prime interest in high school.

Stein: Did you have a partisan interest then? Were you interested in one particular political party?

Fuller: Oh, no.

Stein: Or was your interest just generally in--?

Fuller: Generally in school organization, you might say. It was very funny. My mother and father had always been Republican, so when I registered to vote the first time I naturally registered Republican. And I'll be darned if my father didn't switch and become a registered Democrat that year.

Stein: That would've been--

Fuller: Roosevelt era.

Stein: The Roosevelt era. So he switched in order to vote for Roosevelt?

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: What did you do?

Fuller: I couldn't vote for him. I wasn't old enough in the first Roosevelt election. I cast my first ballot for Alf Landon.

Stein: Well, I'll bet it was nostalgia then to see him just the other night.*

*Alf Landon appeared at the 1976 Republican national convention, in progress when this interview was taped.

Fuller: They did a rather interesting feature on him on TV not too long ago.

Stein: Yes, I've seen him interviewed a couple of times within the last year. He's still going strong.

Getting back to your school years, I'm interested in the student senate because, of course, now there's a lot of noise by student governing bodies of various kinds that they don't have enough say and they want to have more. At UC-Berkeley, for example, they want to have more say in the choice of faculty or the choice of curriculum. So I was interested in how much your student senate actually could do.

Fuller: Well, we could only recommend, but it gave us a sense of being a part of it.

If I may make a comment on the modern scene: It's probably been made by a hundred others before, but it seems to me the way the students rebel and the things they are demanding--they never request anything, they demand things--it's like letting the inmates run the establishment. What seventeen-year-old young person really knows better than a fifty-year-old person as to what curriculum should be developed, what should be given. I'm afraid that I just do not, have not, never would be reconciled to the fact that they should be allowed as much freedom as they are demanding.

Now, I said I wanted Latin and it wasn't offered, but I didn't go around demanding. I asked and then I asked how we could get it and it fell on sympathetic ears. The vice principal was a woman and she said, "Jean, we can only give it if there are ten people. Now if you can get ten people who'll say they'll sign up for it, we'll have Mr. Welch"--who was my civics teacher--"give it."

And we got it, but we wouldn't have thought of demanding this. We requested and I just think in the last fifteen years the word "demand" has become so abhorrent to me. I just rebel against it.

All through career and work, I've never demanded anything. I've requested a lot of things. I just think if modern youngsters could realize they'll get so much more if they ask politely. If they want more say in their governing bodies they should go about it in a way that would be much more acceptable.

Educational Goals and College

Stein: I'm interested that your mother was concerned that you learn Latin. Were your parents anxious that you get an education? Was that their expectation?

Fuller: Oh, yes. They wanted me to get the best education possible and I am sure that if there had been any way at all financially to have sent me to school they would have. Because I'd been so interested in the debate and oratory and had been somewhat successful in it, and because I liked civics and government I did want to be a lawyer. That was my deepest desire, was to be an attorney. But by the time I had to go to work the situation was just not convenient that I could even go to night school.

I went to work for my aunts, or one aunt, out in Beverly Hills who had a very beautiful shop and tea room. So UCLA [University of California at Los Angeles] was just started, had just been established, I should say, at that time and I couldn't even go to night school because I had to work. Well I worked from nine o'clock in the morning till nine o'clock at night.

Stein: Did this start right after you graduated, going to work?

Fuller: Oh, yes. Well, I went to Long Beach Junior College for one term.

Stein: Just to get it on the record, when did you graduate from high school?

Fuller: June 1927.

Stein: So that was right on the verge of the crash, just before the crash. What did you study in your one semester at Long Beach?

Fuller: Well, I took a course in French and my French teacher almost kicked me out.

Stein: Why was that?

Fuller: Well she, Madame Roland, said in her very French accent, "Miss Wood, your accent is utterly impossible. I doubt you will ever learn French." I took the hint.

[end side 1, tape 1]

[begin tape 1, side 2]

Stein: You were saying that there was an ignominious end to your French class there.

Fuller: Yes. So I took another subject. But there again, Long Beach Junior College was just established that year, '27, and the courses were in a formative stage. There were only a few of us who went from Wilmington over to Long Beach.

The junior college was established in the old Woodrow Wilson High School, so we had to share the campus with [the] high school. That was lots of fun.

There again, I suppose you might say I was interested in "let's get organized." I went on the senate there, too, and we had to do such important things as name the football team. Had a great big contest over the name of the football team.

Stein: Can you remember the winning name?

Fuller: Yes. Vikings.

Stein: I wonder if that's what they're still called.

Fuller: To my knowledge I think so, but I'm not sure.

It was there I was exposed a little bit to so-called sorority life. There were some girls there that I had made acquaintance with who were very, very nice and they wanted to form a sorority so we formed a sorority. Of course, it was not affiliated with any big sorority, but we did have fun. It was, you know, Sunday afternoon parties and things like that. Quite nice. I met a boy who was an extremely nice boy.

My mother and I had gone to the Christian Science Church for years and in Long Beach the Christian Science Church sponsored a youth group. Once a month they'd have a lovely chaperoned dance at the Virginia Hotel which was then a very, very nice place. Torn down now. And oh, that was the highlight of the month, to go to that dance.

Stein: What was the name of the sorority?

Fuller: Don't ask. Haven't the vaguest idea.

Piano Lessons

Stein: Before we move on to your work experiences, there are a couple of other questions I had. Were you taking anything like music or dance lessons on the side while you were in school?

Fuller: Well, I didn't take professional dance lessons like my partner did. I just took from Miss Krogman whom I adored so.

Then I was taking piano. My Aunt Ella lived in Los Angeles at the time and so every Saturday I'd have to get on the Pacific Electric train--we called them the "big red cars"--and go to Los Angeles and then transfer out to where she lived to take my piano lessons. So I studied piano for eight years. Because she was a church organist, and a very fine one, everything she taught me was pointed toward being a church organist. She was very disdainful of theater organists. So Saturday was a big event in my life because I think I got 75¢ to go to Los Angeles. There was usually 5¢ left for an ice cream cone.

Stein: That made it all worthwhile.

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: Did you have a piano at home that you could practice on?

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: Did you ever in fact end up doing church organ work?

Fuller: No.

Stein: I see you have an organ now.

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: But did you learn how to play the organ then or did it stop with piano?

Fuller: It stopped with piano. But the type of music and the techniques she was showing me were related to the organ. Technique on the organ is rather different than piano and she would make me practice things that would be an organ technique. Though I never made use of it, later on, when I was married I got my own piano, but I was so busy, busy, busy that I didn't play very much. Since coming up to Northern California, this is my fourth organ. But I don't play very well.

Stein: Well you'll have to play something for me sometime.

Fuller: Sometime maybe. The difficulty being that I never memorized, I can't seem to memorize, and I have to read. My sight being such now, it's extremely difficult for me to read.

The 1918 Flu Epidemic

Stein: The only other thing I was curious about was with all this talk nowadays about swine flu,* everybody is talking about the big flu epidemic of 1918. I wondered if that hit you or your family in any way.

Fuller: No, we were in Colorado that year, and I guess because the temperature is so cold it killed all the viruses. [Laughter] That was the year it was forty-two below zero for several days. I was in the first grade there and the schoolhouse was just a half a block way.

My mother would bundle me up so. That was World War I. They hadn't gotten to the puttees; they had leggings. You know, the soldiers wore leggings that were wrapped. [Demonstrates wrapping cloth around her legs.] Here I'd have to put on these leggings and oh, they're just miserable, and heavy galoshes and two or three sweaters and a coat and muffler, just to walk this half block to school.

We had to wear asphidity bags around our necks, and if you don't know what asphidity is, I hope you never come across it. It is the most foul smelling stuff. It was about the size of a tea bag, and it had a little string and you had to have it hung around your neck. So everybody just smelled to high heavens.

Stein: Was this supposed to ward off the germs?

Fuller: This was supposed to ward off the germs and I don't know if it did any good or not but we didn't get the flu. [Laughter] But, of course, we weren't in very close association, other than my going to school, we weren't in close contact with a lot of people. I don't recall--there probably were some--but I do not recall mention of anybody in our funny little town that died from that flu.

*Health officials feared an outbreak of the deadly swine flu in 1976.

Fuller: But speaking of swine flu vaccine, I will be seeing one of my doctors in a couple of weeks and I'll have a discussion with him. However, my mind is pretty well made up that I will not take the shots. My experience in working with the army--it's mandatory that the army personnel take shots, flu shots, every year. They were always offered to the civilians for free. We could just go down to Letterman [Hospital] and get them. But I would not take them because I observed so many men got so darned sick from those shots. They'd be sick as dogs for three days just from the shots. Well, now these are going to be different shots, but I've got a built-in resistance to shots.

II EARLY WORK EXPERIENCES

Saleswoman

Stein: We left you, in your work experience, when you were working in your aunt's shop in Beverly Hills. How long did that last?

Fuller: I was there, well it was from '28 until I think '30. That was a wonderful experience for a kid. There were very few shops in Beverly Hills at that time. There were just lots of vacant spaces in Beverly Hills. But it was the home of all the big name, I mean really big name motion picture stars. We had a marvelous clientele.

My aunt had very marvelous taste. This was my mother's twin sister. We had very, very beautiful imported things: Lalique glass from France and leathers from Italy and Venetian glass from Italy and very beautiful china and lots of semi-precious stone jewelry, jades and amethysts and things like that, beautiful pewter and hand-wrought silver. I learned from her the very best quality of imported art wares, you might say.

Of course as a sixteen year old kid I was just bug-eyed when somebody like Ronald Coleman would come in or Conrad Nagel and Mary Pickford would come in. It was a wonderful part of education. If I had taken an art course in college I couldn't have learned as much as I did from the actual handling of those materials that we had there.

So, then the Depression did come. And Auntie Mable sold the tea room which adjoined the shop. The little girl who bought it just promptly ran it into the hole. So, Auntie Mable and then her friend, whom I call Auntie Helen, but she's no relation, they were just very frank with me but since they sold the tea room they couldn't afford to keep me anymore.

Fuller: So I went to one of the wholesale jewelers that I'd gotten to know quite well and asked him if he knew of any jobs, because in 1930, '31--whichever it was, I guess it was '30--jobs were pretty hard to come by. And just to start pounding the streets didn't seem the way to do it to me. So I went to him and asked him and he knew I'd been in Beverly Hills and the type of merchandise I'd handled. He said, 'Well, I tell you, I'll give you my card, Jean, and you go out and see Frances Craig in the jewelry section at Bullocks-Wilshire.'

I learned later that when you go to get a job in a store you go early in the morning, but I didn't know that. So it was about three o'clock in the afternoon and I walked in and met this very sweet woman, Miss Craig. We had quite a little conversation and she was impressed with the fact, who had sent me and where I had worked before. So she said, 'Well, you come back tomorrow morning, dear, at nine o'clock and go to the personnel office and I'll have Mr. [David] Saketh alerted to the fact that you'll be coming.' So, I went to work.

Stein: What did you do?

Fuller: I sold jewelry. Later I moved over into what they call small accessories. We had scarves and in those days beautiful, beautiful embroidered neckwear, these lovely French collars and cuff sets, you know, and gorgeous handkerchiefs that sold anywhere from \$5 to \$150, and flowers because people always wore a boutonniere type flower in those days. That was with Miss [Cleo] Paine. She liked me very much and she ultimately made me her assistant of the section.

Oh! You might be interested in this. During those years--I was at Bullocks-Wilshire until 1938--one Christmas, they always hired a few extra people at Christmas time, a beautiful young girl came to work in the handbags section right across the aisle from me. And then she came back the next summer, and I think three subsequent summers she came there. That was Pat Ryan, later Pat Nixon. Oh, she was a beautiful young girl, just gorgeous, and so sweet. Just so darling. So later in political life whenever I would see her, our paths would cross during some or other campaign, she was always so charming and we'd have a laugh about this or that, mainly Miss Gelms, head of the jewelry and bag section, that we had to work for. Pat was a sweet, gracious person.

Bullocks-Wilshire is a very wonderful organization. It was in those days anyway and I think it still is. We were allowed to roam the store. We had our assigned places but if we got a customer who particularly liked us we could go anywhere in the store with them and

Fuller: sell them anything. It's not like the department stores of today where you're in one section and that's it. So it was interesting in that section because sometimes I'd be down on the first floor, sometimes I'd be up on the fourth floor in the toys with some nice, sweet grandmother who was buying clothes for her grandchildren, or I'd be in the third floor where the junior wear was.

They were awfully good to me. I made a very unfortunate marriage and I had two children. At Bullocks they were so good to me. They let me keep on working even when I got quite a bulge. Finally the personnel manager came and talked to my boss, immediate supervisor, and said, "We know Jean has to work but I think we better put her down in the stockroom." So, they put me in the stockroom until almost two weeks before the baby, the first baby came. Then as soon as I could go back to work again they took me back right away. Same thing happened with the second baby. I was always very grateful. They didn't need to do that, but they were so sweet and wonderful.

Child Care

Stein: During this period that you were working at Bullocks were you living at home with your family or had you gotten a place of your own?

Fuller: No. Well, I had a place of my own. But, right after the second baby the marriage went completely on the rocks. He deserted me. So, Mother took the babies and she was wonderful with them and she wasn't too well.

Then I went into a place in Los Angeles that was written up in Reader's Digest one time that was very interesting. There was a woman, Miss Dye, I think it was Frances Dye, D-y-e, and she had a big house up on Rampart Street. It was for working mothers and children. Each mother would have her own room with her babies, and the children would be taken care of all during the day while you went off to work. Now, you had to provide for your own food but she provided the food for the children. So, here they were just little tykes--two and three years old, one and a half and three--and it became in such demand that she gave up the house that she had on Rampart and she leased a six floor apartment building on Union Street. If you knew Los Angeles, Union Street is about like Fillmore. It wasn't a good neighborhood, but I suppose it was the one she could get.

Fuller: There each mother had a small apartment and that made it much easier because then you had a kitchen where you could cook your own meals. The whole first floor was devoted to the children. The apartment house was arranged so that there was a side lot, a play yard for the kids. So, you would know that when you took them down in the morning they'd be given their breakfast and they'd have supervised play all morning. Then they'd be given their lunch and bathed and put to bed for their naps. Then they'd be given their supper.

Well, it gave me a great deal more freedom plus--you're going to laugh at this--I was making \$22 a week and it cost \$13 a week for the little apartment and the care of the children. There wasn't very much left for me to clothe and feed myself. So, I get a little bit perturbed at some of these pushy people who are demanding day care centers for free, after you have the experience that I've had of being a working mother with small children.

Stein: It sounds like quite a remarkable sort of establishment. Were there many houses like that or was that very unusual?

Fuller: My mother came up to help me find a place and we read the ads. There were one or two other houses where they did that. But my mother just walked through the door of a couple of them and she said, "Nope, not here!" It just wasn't the right atmosphere or the right air at all. But Mrs. Dye became quite famous. As I say, there was a lovely article about her in Reader's Digest one time. She was really a pioneer in doing that sort of thing. I guess I stayed there with her in the apartment building for about a year and then I met Lloyd Fuller and we were ultimately married. That was 1938.

Stein: What are the names of your two sons, just for the record?

Fuller: The older one was Fredric Wood Fuller and the other one was Kent Wood Fuller. He adopted them.

Lloyd Fuller

Stein: I would imagine that what with working and taking care of the children and everything you didn't have much time for any other sorts of activities.

Fuller: There was very little social activity. I was very fortunate that I did meet Lloyd Fuller at the time. I met him through a friend who worked up on the third floor at Bullocks-Wilshire. She had a date

Fuller: with a chap from Ventura County who was coming into town. It was a big Shrine convention and so she wanted to get a date for this other chap. Well, that turned out to be Lloyd Fuller.

Stein: What did he do?

Fuller: He was a citrus rancher and also manager of a packing house, an orange packing house, one of the Sunkist houses. He was a member of the board of directors of Sunkist. As I became active in politics he encouraged me and he also became very active. So, he had his own interests, which I supported him, in the civic things of San Fernando Valley.

In San Fernando Valley, although it's all a part of Los Angeles, at that time there were little separate communities here and there, about thirty different communities, and they all had their little chambers of commerce. Then they all combined together and he became president of the West Valley Chamber of Commerce which was a combination of all of those west of Van Nuys. They had a lot of political influence in the city government. When we didn't like some councilman who was representing us, why, the chamber would get behind a good solid citizen and we'd get very active in that campaign to elect someone to our liking.

Stein: You said before that Mr. Fuller was an orange rancher?

Fuller: That's right.

Stein: One of the clippings in the scrapbook you loaned me said that before becoming a rancher he had been with the Orange County district attorney's office and sheriff's office. What did he do with them?

Fuller: Well, he was with the sheriff's office. That was before we were married and I think he was a deputy sheriff. I know he told of several times transporting prisoners from Orange County up to San Quentin and to Folsom. He never talked about it very much.

Stein: The same clipping mentioned that he had also been in the men's clothing business.

Fuller: A very short time. Yes, he said he, like Harry Truman, went broke.
[Laughter]

Stein: Well, he was in good company, I guess. Was he already in orange ranching when you met him?

Fuller: Yes, he had an orange grove and his sister and brother-in-law had one right next to it and so, they farmed them together. He was elected to the board of the local cooperative and then he became manager of the Sunkist Packing House in Canoga Park. He became a member of the board of directors of the Sunkist, or that is I should say, the California Fruit Growers Association.

Stein: Now, there was something called the Canoga Citrus Association.

Fuller: Well, that's the house he ran.

Stein: Oh, that's the Sunkist Packing House.

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: I gather that he also was active in civic affairs.

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: Mostly in the Chamber of Commerce?

Fuller: Mostly Chamber of Commerce. Yes.

Stein: You mentioned that he was a Legionnaire and he was on the local board.

Fuller: That's right.

Stein: That was mentioned in one clipping. One of the clippings also mentioned that he was the field representative of the Federal Orange Prorate for the San Fernando Valley, Santa Barbara and Ventura Counties and I wondered what that was.

Fuller: Yes. Well, that was prior to his being a packing house manager. In the marketing organization, federal marketing organization, they try to balance the flow of products to the market to maintain an equal price structure. So, he would go out and survey the various branches and packing houses throughout those counties and estimate what their crops were going to be and when they were ripe and available. Also, if there had been touches of frost or a bad frost he would estimate what damage there had been to the crop and that way they could estimate what size the good fruit crop would be going to market.

That was under the Department of Agriculture. I believe you'll find that the Department of Agriculture has that sort of program in nearly all crops. I know at least here in California all the fruit growers do.

III FEDERATION OF REPUBLICAN WOMEN AND THE REPUBLICAN PARTY,
1940-1954

San Fernando Valley Republican Women's Club, 1940-1948

Becoming Involved

Stein: Well, this brings us to the question of how you got involved in politics, which I assume happened after you got married.

Fuller: Yes, that's correct. Yes. I think I mentioned that I saw a little notice in the paper that there was going to be a San Fernando Valley Republican Women's Club meeting held in Van Nuys. So, I went to that. That was just a group of ten or twelve little ladies who were quite elderly. They welcomed me with open arms and I joined, paid \$1 a year. I began seeing that there was a nucleus here of a good organization but it needed some vitalizing. So, I got a lot of new members and began putting on programs for them.

Stein: Now, was their age group fairly typical of the Republican women's groups?

Fuller: The Republican women when I became active were all, let's say--not all but 99 percent--were fifty-five to eighty. I began bringing some younger people in my age bracket and we built it up.

Stein: Could we date this a bit? Are we talking about the early '40s?

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: That's when you became active.

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: And by that time how old were your children?

Fuller: They were in their young teens.

Stein: So it didn't work much hardship then for you to be away at meetings.

Fuller: No. Well, the women's meetings were always in the daytime. They were in school and at that time I had a housekeeper, so she was able to watch over them too.

We had a very large house in Encino. We began supporting our chosen candidate, and this was before the days of the addressograph machines or the computers and things like that, so all mailings had to be hand addressed. I had this huge rumpus room and I could get about fifteen or sixteen bridge tables in there, so everybody would bring a bridge table and bridge chairs and we would do the full mailing; that is, do all the addressing and stuffing the envelopes for several candidates. Congressman [Carl] Hinshaw was one of the first we did it for and, of course, a candidate is very appreciative of this because if he has to hire it done, it's an expensive proposition.

Then, we'd raise money to pay the postage. Postage, of course, was not like it is now but it was still quite a big item. So, we'd put on a benefit or have raffles or something or other to buy the postage for our candidate. My house just became sort of headquarters. We were the early-day addressograph system.

Stein: I know there were several photographs in your scrapbook and several newspaper clippings of luncheons and what not. They would always describe your home in Encino as the lovely, large estate of the Fullers.

Fuller: Yes, it was. It was a beautiful place.

Stein: I think that you mentioned to me last time that one of the early programs that you helped organize was around election of the district attorney.

Fuller: Yes, that's right. That's when I talked the ladies into the idea that we could get much wider coverage--publicity is what I'm talking about--and reach more people if we would streamline our meetings by having our luncheon, which was catered there at the women's club, and have the lunch, have the speaker and then the businessmen could go back to work, more or less like Kiwanis Clubs do or Rotary Clubs. Then after the men had left--of course they were welcome to stay, but they always had to get back to business--then we would conduct the business of the organization.

Fuller: The clubs before that time had a reputation--men would never come to their meetings even if they were going to have a good speaker--because they went through the ritual of reading the minutes of the last meeting and the treasurer's report and the report from this committee and that committee. I said, "The men are not interested in that. They don't have time for it." So, we did change the format of our meetings and that way we got much wider participation and because we got good candidates, good speakers, we were able to attract the businessmen of the community.

Relations With the Press

Fuller: I was very fortunate. Both the newspapers--one was called the Van Nuys and Green Sheet and the other was the North Hollywood Valley News--they were under Republican management. They gave us awfully good support. I'll always be eternally grateful particularly to the Van Nuys and Green Sheet, because they would just run anything that I asked them to.

Here's kind of a funny thing, interesting I should say. When I had first become a member, Clare Booth Luce came to Los Angeles. None of the ladies was going to be able to go. It was an evening meeting down at the Elks Club. I wanted to go so I did. I never took shorthand but I can take awfully fast longhand.

Ferdinand Mendenhall, no it was his father before him, old Mr. Mendenhall, happened to come to the Republican women's meeting. Someway or other he heard I had gone into hear Clare Booth Luce and he didn't have a reporter to cover it. He came to the meeting and I gave a very detailed report. It was practically verbatim of what Clare Luce had said.

He said, "Jean, will you write that out and I'll give you a byline." I was so impressed. That was my first byline. At that time I wasn't very experienced in writing. I don't know that I can do much better now, but, I look back on it and I think, "Oh gosh, I probably didn't write that as well as I should have." But he liked it and it was a two column, about an eight inch, thing.

Stein: Which newspaper was he with?

Fuller: The Van Nuys.

Stein: This was the Green Sheet?

Fuller: The Van Nuys and Green Sheet, yes. He had a woman's editor on there, Ethel Taylor, and she hated women's meetings. I think she was just naturally a woman hater. She hated meetings. She had to go to so many of them. But she took a fancy to me. She was just a little bit older than I. She's the one that had the photographer take that picture of me with the hat that sort of turned up and had sort of bows around the top. She continued to run that picture and I'd say, "Ethel," Ethel Taylor, "Ethel, please don't use that same picture, that same hat." And she'd say, "But that's the one I like and I'm going to run it!" [Laughter] So, that's why that picture got repeated as many times as it did.

Republicanism

Stein: We're talking about the later Roosevelt years now, and I wonder what sort of Republicanism the San Fernando Valley Republican women subscribed to. There were people who still backed Hoover and worshipped Hoover and then there were other Republicans who wished that Hoover would quietly disappear and wanted to incorporate some of the New Deal philosophy into their own thinking. I guess that Taft was just--

Fuller: Taft was an ideal of many of the stronghearted Republicans. Remember we had Wendell Willkie. Who did he run against?

Stein: That was Roosevelt. That was in '44.

Fuller: Yes. And then we had the Truman years. Actually it was during the Truman years that I became the most active.

Stein: I was wondering about the San Fernando Valley Republican Women's Club: would you have classed yourselves as conservative Republicans or moderate Republicans?

Fuller: Some of them were ultra conservative but I think the majority would be what we call moderate Republicans. They were practical people who just wanted to get their candidates elected.

Stein: Were you aware much of Herbert Hoover? Was he still an important figure?

Fuller: No, not during the time I was active. I think they all respected him and I know some people just adored him. A woman that I met in later years, Ida Koverman, was a very, very strong figure in Los Angeles

Fuller: politics and she was just Mr. Hoover's right hand as far as politics in California were concerned. She was at the time I knew her executive secretary to Louis B. Mayer of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer studios and consequently a very powerful figure. When you wanted to get something done you could go to Ida Koverman and she'd call a few people and get it done.

Speakers

Fuller: [Glancing at newspaper clipping in scrapbook, reporting on Lincoln Day function at which she presided.]

Plumley, he was a dear. He was Congressman Plumley from Vermont. It always fell to me to try and get the Lincoln Day speaker and I'd always go for the top if I could. So, my first big name that I brought out was--at least it was big to us--was Congressman Plumley. He was quite elderly. The dear old fellow had been campaigning all over the United States.

The arrangements were made that he would be brought to my house. This was in February and it happened to be a gorgeous February day. I could see he was awfully tired and I asked him if he would like to go up and take a little nap before lunch. Well, he welcomed that. He came down and I said, "Well, we're going to have lunch in the patio." I had one of these huge oak trees over the patio. Coming from Vermont he just couldn't imagine that we Californians would be having our lunch in the patio in February. For several years my husband would send him boxes of oranges--you know, a box of oranges--at Christmas time, and he'd send us five gallon cans of Vermont maple syrup.

Stein: How wonderful. I'll bet you were soon swimming in it. [Laughter]

Fuller: Yes, we were. Well, with two boys and lots of entertaining, they did go fast.

Then, another one that we enjoyed was Senator [Bourke] Hickenlooper. Was he Nebraska, or Iowa? By this time my oldest son had his license to drive. We were having a big meeting down in Orange County, down at Newport Beach club, and I told him that he didn't need to go to school that day if he would be my chauffeur. We picked up Senator Hickenlooper at the hotel and drove him to Newport Beach.

Fuller: Well, I gave him an excuse--he was in high school then--I gave him an excuse the next day of why he hadn't been at school. He had a teacher that he disliked intensely, social studies. She was ultra, ultra, ultra left-wing. In fact, there was quite a group that had her investigated because they thought she was a Commie. She would not accept the idea that Fritz had been playing chauffeur to Senator Hickenlooper.

Of course, he used to antagonize her in all ways he possibly could. He was devilish in doing it. One time we had Senator [Robert] La Follette, Gardner Cowles, and two or three other rather important people at the house for a rather informal evening and get together. Of course, he went to school the next day and told his teacher (that he hated so) that Senator Bob La Follette had been at his house the night before. She wouldn't believe him. And so, he made me write a letter to school to assure the teacher that my son was not lying, that he had told her the truth.

[Referring to further clipping in scrapbook] Oh, Ralph Becker, he was a fine, fine speaker.

Stein: We're about to run out of tape and I think this might be a good place to stop and then next week we can go into the club activity more thoroughly and discuss the clubs and your involvement at various levels.

Fuller: All right.

[end side 2, tape 1]

Civic Affairs

[Interview 2, 27 August 1976]

[begin tape 1, side 1]

Stein: I have just a couple of questions left over from last week. We never went into your other activities in civic affairs and I think we should get them down on tape.

Fuller: I was extremely active with the American Red Cross. That, of course, was during World War II. I started running a production unit, which was the bandage rolling and quilt making and knitting and everything like that, out in the west end of the San Fernando Valley.

Fuller: Then, they established Birmingham Hospital in Van Nuys which was to take care of the injured men from the South Pacific. It never became a permanent hospital although it was open for quite a few years. I worked there as a Gray Lady and I enjoyed that work very much. They gave us rather rigorous training, not rigorous physically, but to work with people who were sick and injured, depressed and away from families and things like that.

Then, I took what they called the Home Service Course and was on call to deliver messages or to work with families of servicemen who had been killed in action or who were missing, contact the family, and also handle inquiries from the families to find out where their sons were in the South Pacific if they hadn't heard from them. That did not take a lot of time because it was on an on-call basis. But I think it was the most difficult and also the most rewarding, to work with the families when they were in need.

Then, also at the same time I worked with the Aircraft Warning Service which was started by the Air Force and I would serve a stipulated number of hours a week up on a high hill with binoculars in a little outpost to report any activity in the air. Well, it was a very active post because we were somewhat near Lockheed Aircraft. At that time P-51's were the fast, hot planes that would zoom through the skies. We had to determine whether they were single-engine or multi-engine planes and their approximate speed and their approximate location.

I had an interesting thing happen there one day. Another gal and I were on duty. It was mid-afternoon. At that time the San Fernando Valley was still somewhat rural. There were lots of orange groves and walnut groves left. It wasn't just a sea of houses. A two-motor plane was very low on the north side of the valley.

I told my partner, I said, "I think something's wrong with that plane." I got on the phone to the central headquarters and I said, "There's a two-motor plane. I think he's in trouble." They said, "Can you give us the approximate location?" I said, "Well, he's over the Northridge area." And I said, "Hang on, he's going down in flames!" They said, "Can you tell us where?" I said, "He's going down on the corner of Owensmouth and Stagg Avenue."

Well, of course, the police and fire and the Air Force were there immediately and I was given a very nice commendation because I had plotted it within one block of where he hit the ground. It was just because I knew the layout of the valley so completely. They were quite amazed that I could pinpoint exactly or so nearly as that. That was fun.

Fuller: I was on the board of directors to establish the valley Presbyterian Hospital. At that time it was a matter of raising money. The hospital, of course, had not yet been built. So, I was active in that.

Oh, and I guess I forgot to mention in Red Cross I was also chairman of the speakers bureau for the valley. So, anytime we needed a speaker why I had to get one or else go make the speech myself. And I was chairman of the fund-raiding drive. That's when I got the women organized so that they would go out on March 1 and get all their money collected in one day, get the job over. When I went into federal service, Bowen McCoy who was the chairman of the LA chapter, one of the very largest chapters of Red Cross, wrote a very nice commendatory letter to the Administrator of Civil Defense telling of his appreciation of the past work. So, those were busy years.

Stein: What exactly did you do as a Gray Lady?

Fuller: We worked one day or two days a week and worked right in the hospital. Sometimes we worked behind the desk in the recreation room, where the men who were ambulatory could come play the piano or read books or do whatever they wanted to do, and then other days go out onto the wards and take orders from the men who wished to have something such as writing paper or pencils or candy or things from the PX [post exchange] and then go and get them for them, be their shopper, for those who were not ambulatory.

It was interesting because in trying to be friendly you would try to find out where they were from. They always seemed like they were from Texas. [Laughter] There were so many from Texas who were there, big, gawky farmboys who'd had a bit of bad luck, but they were all good natured and really very nice. Though somedays they would be very down morale-wise and just having someone come and sit and talk with them for ten or fifteen minutes, pay them a little personal attention, was very nice.

Stein: My notes also say that you were active in the American Legion Auxiliary, the Van Nuys Women's Club, the Native Daughters of the Golden West, and on the board of the Canoga Park High School PTA [Parent Teachers Association].

Fuller: Where did you get all that?

Stein: Right out of your scrapbooks.

Fuller: I wasn't with the Van Nuys Women's Club. Scratch that.

Stein: Okay.

Fuller: It was San Fernando Valley Republican women. We met at the Van Nuys Women's Clubhouse.

Stein: I see. I got that right out of a newspaper clipping and probably the correspondent was confused.

Fuller: Yes. No, I was not active in the Van Nuys Women's Club, but we met in their clubhouse.

Stein: The PTA activity must have been when your sons were in high school?

Fuller: Yes. Grammar school and high school both.

Stein: What did you do with the American Legion?

Fuller: Oh, I don't know that I was even an officer, but because my husband was a Legionnaire I became a member of the auxiliary and attended their meetings and just supported them generally. And I was a member of the Native Daughters of the Golden West, which was a small organization in that particular area.

Stein: That is affiliated with the Native Sons of the Golden West?

Fuller: Yes.

Origins and Functions of the California Council of Republican Women

Stein: I'd like to get back now to the California Council of Republican Women and the San Fernando Valley chapter. Maybe we can set out some background here by just discussing for a minute what you know about the background of the council itself. Do you know, for instance, for what purposes it was set up or what its functions were supposed to be?

Fuller: Yes. It was established primarily by Mrs. Edith Van de Water whose husband at the time was a Congressman. She saw the need to get women together to support the Republican party and its principles.

Stein: This couldn't be done within the party or she thought that it would be easier outside?

Fuller: Well, you need to broaden the base. The formal party structure is your county central committee and your state central committee. That's a rather limited number of people and you need to have much wider interests. She could see the value of having volunteer women who were interested and to channel their interests into a rewarding way to support the party. So, that's the principle on which it was built: it was to broaden the base of the Republican party.

After Mr. [Herbert] Hoover's defeat, the council, as it was called at that time, was comparatively small. It was just held together by a nucleus of women who were ardent supporters but it needed to be broadened. When I started with the council, it was just a case of being in the right time, in the right place, that there was an appeal. It was easy to appeal to younger women to get into it. So, it was a matter of just attracting more and more members into the organization. It was very helpful to the candidates to have the support of the organization.

Of course, there are other Republican volunteer organizations. At that time the other one of prominence was the [California] Republican Assembly which was both men and women and numerically not as large as the council, but a very fine organization. But I found it most effective, for whatever talents I had, to work through the women's organization and with the women's organization to help build them up. It is one of those things that I just started in with as a little individual member, but I liked what I heard and could see the possibility of the organization growing.

As it developed it was helpful to me in the long run because those member, a good majority of them, became very loyal supporters for me and I learned a great deal about organization work, on how to organize women and what would attract them. The women I worked with, we never felt any competition with the men. We knew there were certain things we could not do and we didn't try to, we didn't demand that we should have this or that. We just always said, "What can we do to help?"

Stein: What sorts of things would you do, or could you do that you could do better than the men? What would be your sphere?

Fuller: There are two things. First of all to give a platform to your candidate, to assemble a meeting where he could attend, whether it was a koffeeeklatsch or whether it was a very large meeting, so that he could personally meet more and more people.

Fuller: Secondly, a mailing campaign for a candidate was very expensive if they had to hire the work of addressing all the envelopes to all the registered Republicans or registered Democrats, whatever it might be. At the time we did it as volunteers. Under today's mailing addressograph systems and all the other computerized things they have it's done quite differently. But in those days it was nothing at all for me to have a group together and we would, within three days, turn out sixty thousand pieces of mail.

We just did it as volunteers. Everybody would bring their sandwich and I'd have coffee for them and everybody would just work like beavers, working from the precinct lists that the candidate supplied to us, stuffed the envelopes, stamped them, tied them up, got them mailed at the correct time, and we did door-to-door canvassing in our own neighborhood. When you know your own neighbor you can be influential.

So, that's what the women did. Now, it was written in our by-laws, if there were two Republicans running in the primary we gave them equal time, you might say. If we'd have a meeting they were both invited and we would never endorse. Now, the Republican Assembly, the other organization I spoke of, they do endorse. They did in those days. But we never did. We always felt that we would be fair to all Republicans who were running. But then whoever was the nominee selected in the primary, then he was our candidate and we all got behind him. So, candidates at the congressional and assembly level did depend on us a lot for the work, the volunteer work, we did.

Now, I was more than surprised at a convention I went to in later years which was held in Cleveland. I was seated at the table with women from Chicago and I was aghast at the fact that they were all paid workers, even though they were members of the federation. They wouldn't do precinct work unless they were paid for it. Of course, we had never heard of such a thing in California. We used all of our own gasoline and automobiles to do things and we worked truly as volunteers, never thinking of being paid. It was just a different way of life that I had learned about in the Midwest.

Stein: Why was it that this was in the by-laws not to endorse at the pre-primary level?

Fuller: You can get into unpleasant situations. Emotions run high and if Mrs. Smith is an ardent supporter of her candidate and Mrs. Jones is an ardent supporter of her candidate, a rivalry can develop. So, we just couldn't do it.

The Federation and the Republican Party

Stein: What relationship was there between the federation and the Republican party structure itself? Was there any formal relationship?

Fuller: No formal relationship, except that we were recognized at that time, as the largest volunteer organization in California.

Stein: Could there be any overlap of officers? Could people be officers of the federation at the same time as they were officers of the Republican party?

Fuller: Oh, yes. Oh, yes. There were. In fact, I would be president of a certain federation unit, either San Fernando Valley or the southern division of the state of California. I was also an elected member on the county central committee and also an appointed member on the state central committee. So, there's much overlapping that way. Most of the women who go to leadership in the federation, that is a top leadership post in the federation, were also in the formal party structure.

Stein: Did that become a sort of informal rule, so to speak? Would the party almost naturally look to the federation to supply some of its leaders?

Fuller: I can only speak for myself. When I had become active in the San Fernando Valley--the county central committee members are elected on the basis of seven members for each assembly district. So a slate of officers would be put up and then it would go right on the ballot, that went to everyone. So, when you become known--I think I was asked to run and I agreed to do so, which meant more meetings. At that time there were usually about five men and two women, sometimes four men and three women. Whoever was chairman of the assembly district committee was then on the executive committee for the whole county.

Now, the state structure, state central committee, is different. There you have, say, an assembly candidate and if that person is a man, which it usually is, then he appoints one other man and two women as his members to the state central committee. Each congressional district nominee does the same. The governor did the same, lieutenant governor, the members of the board of equalization, the state comptroller, the secretary of state. So, the state committee is an appointed body, but appointed by those who have been elected the nominees of the party.

Stein: I'm going to come back to that later. All this is complicated, and has to get unravelled. You mentioned the Republican Assembly and one question that came to mind was, if there was any difference in the sort of philosophy of the two organizations, if one could be called more liberal and the other conservative or if both organizations pretty much held the same philosophy.

Fuller: At that time I think they were just about the same, the only difference being that the assembly was a combination of both men and women, but more men than women were members.

Some Federation Leaders

Stein: You mentioned Edith Van de Water and I wondered if you knew her at all.

Fuller: Oh, yes.

Stein: I wondered if you could comment a little bit about her.

Fuller: She was one of the loveliest ladies I've ever known and a very, very fine speaker. At the time I knew her she was a widow. Congressman [Charles Franklin] Van de Water had passed away some few years prior to my meeting her. She was a very knowledgeable woman, very gracious and very well respected. She lived down in Long Beach which had been her husband's district.

There just aren't enough nice things I could say about Mrs. Van de Water. She was a great influence, both with men and with women. Mrs. Van de Water had a talent of when things would get a little bit tense and there might be a little dissension over something she would let it sort of roll for a while, and then she'd get up and very quietly would give her view and whatever that view was seemed to be the swaying point and things quieted down. She was just a lovely, lovely, unusual lady.

Stein: She remained active, then, in the federation?

Fuller: Oh, yes. Yes, Mrs. Van de Water never missed a meeting as long as she was able to. I can't quite recall the last time I saw her. I really don't know. I know I saw her in the fifties.

Stein: You also mentioned Lelia Eastman.

Fuller: Yes. Lelia Eastman Baeskens. Baeskens. Baeskens is her second married name. Lelia was from Orange County and she was a very forceful woman, most unusual. Her husband was a rancher on the Irvine ranch. They primarily grew lima beans, although they did have some citrus. He was a flyer. I don't know whether he'd flown in World War I or whether he was just a private pilot.

In her young married life--they had this vast lease on the Irvine, hundreds and hundreds of acres--the men would be working out in the field and Lelia was just the head cook and bottle washer. Sometimes her husband would become a little alcoholic and Lelia would just have to run the organization, thirty, forty, fifty men. He went flying one day and crashed. So, then she did run the operation.

One of the early things I remember when I met her--I liked her immediately, but I'd been at a meeting someplace in Orange County and she said, "Do you have time to come by the ranch before you go home?" I said, "Oh, surely, I'd be glad to." Well, it was a modest ranch house, but there was a huge barn behind. She said, "I want to show you my new piece of machinery." She had--I won't say invented--but she had developed a lima bean harvester, the likes of which had never been seen before. Most harvesters in those days would gather two windrows of beans at a time. Lelia's machine would harvest ten windrows at a time. It was an amazing machine which looked a little Rube Goldberg-ish but it worked. I tell you I was so impressed with the fact. She, practical woman that she was, she went through all the intricacies of just why this gear was here and why this blade was there. But the fact that it would harvest ten rows at a time was never heard of before.

Lelia later married her ranch manager who was a Basque and his name was Baeskens, Frank Baeskens. He was a very quiet, very nice man. Lelia was always a knockout as far as her dress and costume was concerned, sometimes a little bizarre, but you always knew she was in the room when she was. She was very active in politics in Orange County which was a very complicated county with various factions. She'd speak with great force. She was an ardent supporter of Earl Warren's.

Stein: Was she active in the federation or the party or both?

Fuller: Both. She was active primarily in the party, but she supported the federation and kept her membership in it because she would always be willing to be a delegate and she could influence many, many voters. She had the ability to talk with men. She had a great deal of influence with men, I guess, because she worked with men so much. She could exert a great deal of influence with them.

Stein: I suppose that they would respect her, running a ranch.

Fuller: Oh, they respected her very much. Yes, she could talk with a man on a man's level.

Stein: One other woman that you've mentioned is Ida Koverman.

Fuller: Ida Koverman was a great lady. Ida Koverman during the Hoover administration held some sort of position I do not know. When the Hoover administration went out Ida became executive secretary to Louis B. Mayer, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, and she was a very, very influential woman in the motion picture industry. You speak of Hedda Hopper and Louella Parsons. Well, Ida Koverman's name was not known to the public as much as those were but I would say she had more influence. [Mrs. Fuller gets Who's Who in American Women.] She's not in this issue.

Stein: She was in Who's Who?

Fuller: I would imagine she'd be in Who's Who, not just Who's Who in American Women, or a Who's Who in California. She was not active in the party structure but she was extremely helpful because when we needed a stellar attraction for some meeting or rally Ida could get them.

Stein: From her movie connections.

Fuller: So, when you needed a celebrity, why if Ida thought it was for the right reason, had to be the right reason first, then she could move the motion picture industry in.

San Fernando Valley Republican Women's Club: Election and Officers, 1946

Stein: Turning now to the San Fernando Valley Republican Women's Club, I think we can pick up the story in about 1946. You were elected president in late '46 but even earlier than that--I noticed a clipping in the scrapbook that you just loaned me--you had been elected recording secretary. There were some other names here in that clipping of women who were elected to office then and I wondered if any of them were worth commenting on. The first was Mrs. William Craigue, the president, C-r-a-i-g-u-e.

Fuller: Oh, Mrs. Craigue, yes, of course. At the time I joined she was president of the San Fernando women's club.

Stein: Was she part of that old guard you talked about?

Fuller: Yes. She was one of the dear little women who just held it together, you know, by its shoestrings. Just a sweet, dear, little person.

Stein: Was that also true of Mrs. Ted Morris? She was the vice-president.

Fuller: She was a little younger. A sweet, darling person and always the gracious hostess. She was very savvy politically and just worked as hard as she could. We went to a lot of meetings together.

An interesting aspect about her is her husband who was a very quiet, unassuming little gentleman. He and his brother had the largest rose growing, wholesale rose company, in Southern California. They had field stock, patented roses, that were sold through the nurseries. He also created four roses that became all-American. It takes years to pollinize a rose to get a new rose. He had four roses that became all-American and one was awarded after he had passed away. They never became extremely well known roses and he named them after the missions, the California missions. It was through him that I once met Charlie Perkins of the Jackson-Perkins Rose Co., which is nationwide.

Whenever we had a big meeting, say at the Biltmore Hotel or the Ambassador or someplace like that, Lillian would bring roses in pails because they had to be picked at just a certain time of the day. We always had the most gorgeous floral arrangements and no one could figure out how we could afford them. If we had bought them we couldn't afford them. But we did have beautiful, beautiful flowers. She was very generous that way. She just worked very hard. That was such a small little group it's hard for me to recall each of the little ladies who were there.

Stein: There were three other officers aside from yourself who were also elected. The treasurer was Mrs. D. Bishop, the corresponding secretary was Mrs. Sidney Reed, and the auditor was Mrs. Charles V. Babbs. Is there anything that ought to be said about any of those ladies?

Fuller: Just all very sweet little ladies. Each one of them did their job in a very quiet, unassuming way.

Stein: Then in, I guess it was late 1946, you were elected president of the San Fernando Valley club.

Fuller: San Fernando Valley, yes.

Stein: When you were elected there were some other officers elected with you again.

[end side 1, tape 1]

[begin tape 1, side 2]

Stein: Here are some other names, then, of ladies who were elected at the same time you were, in either late '46 or early '47. Mrs. George Lehman was elected vice-president; Miss May Crawford, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Frank Lewis, financial secretary; Mrs. G.I. Musselman, recording secretary; Mrs. G. Fain, auditor; and Mrs. Ernest Rarey, parliamentarian. I wondered if any of them needed any comment.

Fuller: They were all sweet, fine women. Mrs. Rarey was probably the most interesting. She was an excellent speaker. She had been active, very active, in the national American Legion Auxiliary, and in fact had been a candidate for president of it and, unfortunately, did not win it. That was during the Roosevelt years. Mrs. Rarey was from Ohio and I would say a Taft Republican if one can categorize anyone that way.

I always remember her husband, who was at that time retired; he'd been a military man, a colonel. When she lost that election in the Legion Auxiliary and she was pretty downhearted, he said, 'Well, Irma dear, just think of all the rubber chicken and cold, gray peas that you won't have to eat.' [Laughter] Always a consolation.

Speakers and Programs

Stein: Yes, there's always a silver lining. Then, I guess at that period a lady by the name of Mrs. Addison B. Green of Holyoke, Massachusetts, was president of the national federation. Do you remember her? Did you ever meet her at all?

Fuller: She came up to speak one time and I met her but I wasn't very well acquainted with her.

Stein: How about Barbara Whittaker of Santa Barbara?

Fuller: Barbara Whittaker of Santa Barbara was a very large woman who was what I would call the ultra, ultra John Birch wing of the society. John Birch wasn't in the picture at that time, but that would categorize it in my estimation. Mrs. Whittaker and I never saw eye to eye.

Stein: She was president of the state council at that time?

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: In this period you were very active in establishing speaker programs for the San Fernando Valley club. I wondered what sort of freedom you had in setting up the program. Did Mrs. Whittaker or the state council give you any kind of guidelines?

Fuller: No. No.

Stein: None whatever?

Fuller: Each club was independent in its selection of speakers. There were state by-laws and we all abided by them and we all contributed our dues. Sometimes there were personal influences that would try to influence us but each worked independently. And, I tell you, primarily each club sort of centered its activities either around its local assemblyman or local congressman. We were all following the same pattern, but there was no great dictate from above.

You would find, club to club, quite considerable variation of the types of speakers they would elect. I was one who was always inclined to pick out what I call middle-of-the-roaders because I thought they had the best electability. I was at odds with Mrs. Whittaker because she was the type, she and her followers were the type, that would rather lose an election and not budge an inch. They were not willing to see anybody else's viewpoint. They were so ultra, ultra conservative that they would make no compromises whatever.

Stein: Just sticking to principle.

Fuller: I would always maintain--it's worse now but at that time there was a two-to-one Democrat registration over Republicans and I'd say, "We'll never attract Democrat votes if we are going to shut them out." That was the principal thing on which Mrs. Whittaker and her followers and I did not agree.

Stein: I was interested in noticing in one of the scrapbooks there was a copy of the Washington newsletter, which was the newsletter, I gather, of the National Federation of Republican Women. This one was from 1953, but there was a column in it called "Suggested Program for June" and that particular program was a discussion of the Bricker Amendment.

Stein: I was interested in that because it seemed that that was giving at least a suggestion to the local clubs.

Fuller: Well, the national council, national federation, did make suggestions which were meant to be helpful to the smaller clubs and they were. At that particular time the Bricker Amendment was something of Republican party interest and since it was, then we should study it and perhaps have comments on it.

Stein: But you didn't have to follow that?

Fuller: No.

Stein: That was just a suggestion?

Fuller: Just suggestions because they were trying to be helpful to the rest of us.

Stein: I noticed in looking over the clippings of all those meetings that you had quite a range of speakers. I even found clippings in this most recent scrapbook you loaned me about the program you put on with the district attorney candidates. I was interested because one of the candidates you had speaking was Fred Howser, who later became state attorney general.

Fuller: He became lieutenant governor.

Stein: No, there were two men with similar names. This was the H-o-w-s-e-r Howser who became attorney general when Warren was governor and was the one that was alleged to have had connections with the rackets.

Fuller: I don't remember him. I remember Frederick Houser, H-o-u-s-e-r. He became lieutenant governor.

Stein: That's right. You don't remember the other one?

Fuller: Not especially, no.

As I say, at the time, that particular meeting brought a good deal of attention to our clubs because we brought all the candidates for district attorney together on one platform. That hadn't been done in the San Fernando Valley before, so that created a great deal of interest.

Stein: I noticed that one week--these were weekly meetings, were they?

Fuller: Monthly.

Stein: Monthly meetings. Well, one month you had Ernest Clark, a former army colonel, and you had a number of local officeholders. One month you had Mrs. Earl Holland of Pro-America.

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: I wondered how much you had to do with Pro-America and how much influence they had with your group?

Fuller: Not a lot. Pro-America was a small organization, numerically speaking, but they did have a lot of influence. Pro-America was ultra, ultra conservative and made up, primarily, of rather wealthy people. I don't know what they're doing now but in those days they were not interested in large membership. They were just interested in a membership who agreed with them.

Stein: Ideologically pure.

Fuller: Yes. Nice phrase.

Stein: But you would invite them to be speakers?

Fuller: But we would invite their speakers, yes. Some of them were very good speakers and would be very well prepared on their subjects, whatever it might be. But, we did not intermingle very much.

Stein: I noticed one month you had Mrs. Benjamin Parks, who was national chairman for education of Pro-America, speaking on "Are Our Children Being Subjected to Communism."

Fuller: She was an excellent speaker too.

Stein: Now, would you then have people on the other side of the question?

Fuller: Not always.

Stein: One of the other speakers you had was Bernard Brennan and his name pops up again and again. So, maybe we should say a few words about him.

Fuller: Yes. Mr. Brennan was just an absolute jewel, a very fine attorney and very active in the Republican party and a good speaker, as solid as a rock. We could just always count on him in a pinch. When you were stuck and you didn't have a speaker, you could call Bernie. His wife was very active in the Glendale Republican women.

Stein: What was his wife's name?

Fuller: First name I do not know. Just Mrs. Bernard Brennan was all. The Glendale club had quite a large club.

Jessie Williamson

Stein: Then in May of '47 your club gave a tea to honor Jessie Williamson.

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: This might be a good opportunity to comment on her.

Fuller: Jessie Williamson at that time was our national committeewoman for California from Berkeley. At the time I was not very well acquainted with her, but I wrote to her and asked her if she could visit Southern California and become acquainted with more of the newer members of Southern California. She knew the oldtimers but we'd gotten in so many new members. So, we did have this tea and that was when I gave it in my home.

Stein: This was White Oaks?

Fuller: Yes. I had it in the patio where I could seat a hundred and fifty people very easily. So, naturally then I became much better acquainted with her. Now, Jessie Williamson was a very, very strong admirer of Earl Warren. I think she was probably responsible for my going on the delegation--I couldn't be sure--to the national convention.

Stein: In 1948.

Fuller: Yes. We just became very good friends, where before I did not know her personally, but I wrote to her and asked her would she come down and she did most graciously. I was terribly, terribly sorry when she passed away when she did. It was most inopportune because I'd grown to love her so.

Stein: One of the clippings I read about her said that she had been elected in 1936 as vice-chairman of the Republican State Central Committee and was the first woman to be elected to that post.

Fuller: That's probably right.

Stein: That brings to mind the fifty-fifty rule, that I think at some point became law for the Republican party, that at least on certain levels committee chairmen and vice-chairmen had to be of opposite sexes.

Fuller: It may be now but when I was active it was not so.

Stein: It wasn't.

Fuller: No.

Stein: That's interesting. Then, Mrs. Williamson was also the junior past state president of the California Council of Republican Women?

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: Then you mentioned she was the Republican national committeewoman from 1944-48. The newspaper clipping about the tea quoted her on two points. She said it was important for women to assume two important obligations in politics. One was to inaugurate an educational campaign to get citizens out to vote, and the other was to raise local and national standards of politics. This latter point in particular she said, "is a woman's job, for women are better housecleaners than men." I was particularly interested in that because it seems to me that that was a fairly popular notion at one time of women's role in politics.

Fuller: Yes. The broom has always been the symbol of "get the bad guys out."

Stein: Yes. Even much further back than that, when the whole issue of suffrage was being argued, one of the arguments was that women would purify politics if they were allowed to vote, that they'd vote all the riffraff out.

Fuller: I think it's unfortunate that it has not turned out that way. [Laughter]

The women that I have known in politics I think have been exemplary. I think it takes a particular kind of woman to stand up physically to being an elected official. One time I met Frances Bolton who was a congresswoman, from the East Coast someplace. Oh, she was tremendous, just tremendous. Uncorruptible, or is it incorruptible?

I think it is too bad that women have not taken, and still do not take, as much interest in national political things as they should. If I had it to do over again I'd do everything I did and maybe some things a little differently, but I do think women should. But, women, many women, just do not have that kind of an interest.

Fuller: It's very difficult to attract all women. I know some who just don't even bother to go to vote. They just say, "Well, let my husband do it." I have a feeling that the women who are exerting their influence now--whether they're going to be able to do any better or not, I don't know. But, perhaps they will.

Stein: When Mrs. Williamson died in 1948 I gather that there was something of a contest for her position as national committeewoman. I may be wrong but two names seem to surface as being considered, Marjorie Benedict and Mildred Prince.

Fuller: Oh, yes. Mildred Prince from San Francisco was Pro-America and, there again, of the ultra, ultra conservative type. She would not bend. She would not have been representative, a good representative of the Republican women who had been active in the party. But, she was very forceful and I think she probably did try to pull a lot of strings, or have them pulled for her, to become committeewoman. But, I don't think anybody in our federation, or very few in our federation, would have been very happy with her. Just something about her.

Stein: My notes say that she was a lawyer?

Fuller: I think she was. Both she and her husband. Consequently she was a very fine speaker, but very closely tied to Pro-America. As I say, Pro-America was very small. It wasn't a wide spectrum organization at all.

Stein: Do you know much about that election itself? Do you remember much about it?

Fuller: No. No. I don't really. I don't really. Probably if you'd do a rerun of the old movie of that state central committee meeting it would come back to me.

Stein: Were you on the state central committee then?

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: Speaking of conservative leaders, there are two other names that I've come across and I wondered if they meant anything to you. One is Elena Madison, Mrs. Marshall Madison. I've seen her name in connection with Pro-America.

Fuller: I'm not familiar with the name.

Stein: How about Fern Mattei? She was the wife of the Mattei of Honolulu Oil.

Fuller: I did not know her.

The Shattucks

Stein: Also in the clippings I noticed that in 1947 the San Fernando Republican Women's Club inaugurated a study group in addition to its monthly meeting.

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: Mrs. Edward Shattuck was the leader and the topic was "Voting Records of Southern California Congressmen in the Eightieth Congress." Were these successful?

Fuller: Yes, these were very good. Mrs. Shattuck and a young lady named Mary Topper and another young lady named something Berger were very good at researching subjects. We'd have a little circle meeting in a home and anybody was welcome to come. They would get into subjects and really discuss them and bring out the pros and cons, and then they would make a recommendation at the next full meeting if they felt that it was something we should take a stand on. It was just to broaden the scope and interest of the members, rather than just coming and listening to a speaker each month. These were the younger women who were getting into things. Very beneficial, very beneficial to the whole organization. Several of the other clubs did it too.

Mrs. Shattuck was a darling person, Mary Jane. Her husband was an attorney, Ed Shattuck, and at one time he was chairman of the Los Angeles County Republican Central Committee. He was either chairman or vice-chairman, I believe, of the state central committee. He had been a great Warren supporter. He was very influential in the Los Angeles area.

It's funny, in Los Angeles, though there were many high schools, LA High had more graduates who had gone into community leadership than any other school around. There was a little rivalry with Poly [John Francis Polytechnic High School]. I think Goodwin Knight went to Poly; no it was Manual Arts [High School]. But, LA High for a high school had the largest alumni association and they met regularly. LA High

Fuller: Alumni Association was just about as powerful as the Chamber of Commerce. It was an interesting thing. LA High was in the heart of the Wilshire residential district. If the LA High alumni got behind you, why you were in.

Stein: That's interesting.

Fuller: Yes, it's interesting for a high school.

Stein: You don't usually expect that.

Fuller: No. They maintained their regular office and paid secretary downtown. Ed Shattuck was at one time president of that.

Stein: Who were some of the other people who came out of that group?

Fuller: Oh, glory be! I really can't tell you because I'd have to think of people who were in the business world and I was not a member of it, so I really wasn't as well acquainted with it as I would have liked to have been, but I just didn't live in the right neighborhood.

Press Coverage

Stein: One of the things that interested me in looking through this scrapbook was how well your meetings seem to have been covered by the press.

Fuller: Well, let's say I had a very friendly press. We had two main newspapers in San Fernando Valley, the Van Nuys News and the Valley Times, and the publishers of both of them liked me. As our meetings began to grow they would send their reporters. At first they would just take handouts that we would give them when we were going to have a meeting, but then they used to bring their reporters to actually cover it for themselves. As we got some of the younger women in I would pick out young women to be the press chairmen who had some savvy about press relations. So, the flavor of our activities changed and consequently the press coverage.

The valley at that time was somewhat sparsely populated. It's not like it is now, of course. They were most cooperative in any way.

However, I did have very favorable coverage from the Los Angeles Times which is "Mr. Big" of Los Angeles. Norma Goodhue, who was a woman's writer, would attend all our annual conventions or semi-annual conventions. She wrote very nicely. She and I still correspond.

Fuller: Prior to Norma Goodhue there was a woman named Bess Wilson there and a wizened little thing she was, very caustic with her pen. She and I didn't get along very well.

I was talking with her one day. We'd had a perfectly beautiful convention. It had run for two days. About the last hour there was some little scuffle or discussion, some dissension happened. It didn't amount to a hill of beans. But when Bess Wilson's column came out the next day that's all she featured.

I saw her and I said, "Bess, why did you do that? We had a perfectly beautiful convention. That was just such a minor happening and it didn't matter at all." She said, "Jean, love and kisses don't make news. Feuds and fights do." That was her. That was particularly her.

Then there was a man down there, Chester Hanson, who was a political writer, and he began covering our conventions. I could sometimes expect him to be quite caustic. I remember there was some discussion, I don't remember the topic now, but some subject had come up. He had written it rather well. About the third paragraph down he said, "Now, for the Fuller explanation," capitalizing "Fuller" explanation. Then he used to call me the lid-keeper-onner. I was glad when he retired. [Laughter]

Does the name Bill Henry mean anything to you?

Stein: It's a familiar name.

Fuller: Well, Bill Henry was the Washington correspondent for the Los Angeles Times. Bill Henry was a counterpart of "Squire" Earl Behrens in San Francisco, and I adored Bill Henry. Consequently, he always--and everybody in Los Angeles read Bill Henry--so, whenever I was in Washington for a conference I could always know that I'd get a nice word in Bill Henry's column.

Then, we had another man on one of the valley papers who was quite a young man, a young reporter. He had one of these old folksy kinds of columns and every once in a while he'd stick some little nice thing in about Jean Fuller. I remember one. He wrote something or other, "Some people in North Hollywood aren't too happy with Jean Fuller's election to something or other," he said, "but in my estimation the party should be grateful to have her." Something, you know, just a little squib like that.

Fuller: I've always been able to get along pretty well with the press. At times I'd like to kick them in the pants. Locally in Southern California and in Long Beach--of course, this was Gladys O'Donnell's and Mrs. Van de Water's home territory, so whenever I came in I came in as a guest, and they had excellent press relations.

I think you find that if women's organizations are doing something you don't have too much trouble with the press. I never wanted to be in the women's column. I wanted to be in the news page. That is, I wanted my things to be in the news page. So, if you do something a little different they treat you pretty well.

Stein: What about Kyle Palmer? Did you get to know him at all? He was a political reporter for the LA Times.

Fuller: Kyle Palmer--short, round, gray hair, curly hair. I didn't know him personally, but the name is very, very familiar. I've seen him lots and lots of times. He never covered the women's things. I think he was more on the male side of it.

Stein: Yes, I think he was back at the Republican national convention when you went. I think he did things like that.

Fuller: Yes.

The California Republican Party, 1940-1948

Conservatives

Stein: Let me just ask you a little bit now about the Republican party itself in this period. You mentioned some ultra, ultra conservative ladies and I would imagine that that same faction existed among the men.

Fuller: It ultimately turned into the John Birch Society. There were some men who were of the same mind and the John Birch Society--at least to my knowledge, when I first heard of it, started down in San Marino. That young Congressman John Rousselot [Republican, San Marino]--not so young any more--was one of the prime movers in it. So, I would call them the pre-John Birchers.

Stein: Who were some of the others?

Fuller: You mentioned Mrs. Whittaker, and there was a woman named Dorothy Arnold, and there was a woman named Helen Walton.

Stein: Won't we come to her later? Didn't you run against her?

Fuller: Yes, I ran against her. Beat her too. I don't remember their names offhand. They were really a very small group, numerically speaking.

Stein: How about the men of this ultra crowd? Do you remember any of their names?

Fuller: No. The only one I remember was John Rousselot who is a congressman and I think quite a good young congressman. He organized the John Birch Society down in Southern California, at least to my knowledge I believe he did.

Stein: Was there any sort of geographic correlation in the moderate-ultra-conservative split? Were most of the ultra, ultras from Southern California?

Fuller: There was a nucleus in San Marino, Santa Barbara, and San Francisco. Mrs. Whittaker was from Santa Barbara and there were some people from San Marino that were, but I didn't know them very well.

Member, County Central Committee

Stein: I was asking you earlier and I'd like to expand on it a little bit now: I gather in this period you were also on the Republican County Central Committee.

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: I got terribly confused in reading the clippings because sometimes it said "county central committee" and sometimes it said "forty-second assembly district committee." I couldn't figure out if that was one and the same group or two different things.

Fuller: No. Well, the forty-second district is a part of the county. At that time there must've been at least twelve, maybe more, assembly districts in Los Angeles County. So, you're elected to your assembly district committee and you become a part of the Los Angeles County Republican Central Committee. You are a member of the Los Angeles County central committee. Then, in the county central committee officers are elected from that membership, and your executive committee is formed there too.

Stein: This scrapbook that I just brought back had some material about the 1944 election which is when I gather you first ran for the forty-second assembly district committee.

Fuller: Probably so.

Stein: As one of seven people. You mentioned there were seven people. The other names of people who ran were Walter Johnson, Leonard Hamner, Philbrick McCoy, Robert Craig, Pearl Hutt and James S. Howie.

Fuller: I'd forgotten those names. That's all right.

Stein: I wanted to ask you about some of these anyway. I think they're listed here on that little card [referring to sample ballot for 1944 election].

Fuller: Walter Johnson was an attorney in North Hollywood. Len Hamner, I forget what he did do. Phil McCoy was an attorney who later became a judge and as far as I know he still is, if he hasn't passed away. Bob Craig was a great, huge, lovable man, also an attorney. Pearl Hutt was a woman in her sixties who lived in Sherman Oaks. She'd long been active in the party. Myself and Jim Howie who was a nice little man from the Burbank area, connected with the Will Hayes office.

Stein: Were all these people pretty active, these names we just mentioned?

Fuller: Oh, yes. Yes. You'll find on that committee and on all committees there's a preponderance of attorneys. I don't mean to be unkind, but most attorneys get into political life hoping someday to get a judgeship. This is not an unkind comment, it's just a truism.

Stein: The reason I asked that is that it seems to me that at least in some organizations you have the problem of people who join to get their name on a letterhead or get their name up in the limelight, and then they just become so much deadweight. They don't really do anything.

Fuller: Yes. Well, in those days there weren't enough of us to do that. We all had to be doers or else. I remember one of the earliest jokes was, "Well, you remember I belonged to the Republican party even when we held our convention in a telephone booth." [Pause] Political life is great fun, if you enjoy it.

Stein: I gather you did.

Fuller: Yes.

SAMPLE BALLOT

54a

MARK CROSSES (+) ON BALLOT ONLY WITH RUBBER STAMP;

NEVER WITH PEN OR PENCIL.

(ABSENTEE BALLOTS may be marked with PEN AND INK OR INDELIBLE PENCIL.)

(Fold Ballot to this Perforated Line, leaving Top Margin exposed)

OFFICIAL CONSOLIDATED PRIMARY ELECTION BALLOT REPUBLICAN PARTY

20th Congressional, 38th Senatorial, 42nd Assembly District

To vote for the group of candidates preferring a person whose name appears on the ballot, stamp a cross (+) in the square in the column headed by the name of the person preferred.

FOR DELEGATES TO NATIONAL CONVENTION. VOTE FOR ONE GROUP ONLY.

Candidates Preferring EARL WARREN	
<input type="checkbox"/>	
<p>A cross (+) stamped in this square shall be counted as a vote for all candidates preferring Earl Warren.</p>	

To vote for a person whose name appears on the ballot, stamp a cross (+) in the square at the RIGHT of the name of the person for whom you desire to vote. To vote for a person whose name is not printed on the ballot, write his name in the blank space provided for that purpose. If you wrongly stamp, tear or deface this ballot, return it to the Inspector of Election and obtain another.

CONGRESSIONAL	COUNTY COMMITTEE	JUDICIAL	JUDICIAL	JUDICIAL
United States Senator Vote for One WILLIAM G. BONELLI Senator, State Board of Equalization	Member County Central Committee Forty-Second Assembly District Vote for Seven PEARL HUTT Homestead	Judge of the Superior Court Office No. One Vote for One CHARLES S. BURNELL Judge of the Superior Court	Judge of the Superior Court Office No. Ten Vote for One LESLIE E. STILL Judge of the Superior Court	Judge of the Superior Court Office No. Seventeen Vote for One STANLEY MOSK Judge of the Superior Court
BOLAND C. CASAD Crude Oil Commissioner	JAMES S. ROWIE Attorney	DELAUNE FRANCIS McCLOSKEY Attorney at Law		IDA MAY ADAMS Judge Municipal Court, City of Los Angeles
JUSTUS P. CARMER Publisher	BORNE B. BENTON Public Relations Counselor		Judge of the Superior Court Office No. Eleven Vote for One	LEROY DAWSON Judge of the Municipal Court
SHERIDAN DOWNEY United States Senator	JEAN W. FULLER Homestead	Judge of the Superior Court Office No. Two Vote for One	INGALL W. BULL Judge of the Superior Court	
FREDERICK F. HOUSER Assistant Governor of California	C. RICHARD SILVER Film Technician			Judge of the Superior Court Office No. Eighteen Vote for One
CHARLES G. JOHNSON Treasurer of State of California	LEONARD W. HAMNER		Judge of the Superior Court Office No. Twelve Vote for One	FRANK E. NOGAN Attorney at Law
ALONZO J. RIGGS Health Educator	WALTER A. JOHNSON Incumbent	Judge of the Superior Court Office No. Three Vote for One MARSHALL ABBOTT Academy Member, California State Bar	EDWARD E. BRAND Judge of the Superior Court	HAROLD B. LANDRETH Judge of the Superior Court
JOHN J. TANEY Attorney	PHILBRICK MCCOY Incumbent	RUBEN S. SCHMIDT Judge of the Superior Court		
JACK B. TENNEY State Senator	ROBERT P. CRAIG Incumbent		Judge of the Superior Court Office No. Thirteen Vote for One	Judge of the Superior Court Office No. Nineteen Vote for One
PHILIP BANCROFT Farmer	WILLIAM A. THOMPSON		A. A. SCOTT Judge of the Superior Court	HAROLD B. JEFFERY Judge of the Superior Court
	HAROLD S. KIRBY Merchant	Judge of the Superior Court Office No. Four Vote for One		BENJAMIN M. KOCHMAN Attorney at Law
Representative in Congress Twentieth District Vote for One		ROBERT H. SCOTT Judge of the Superior Court	Judge of the Superior Court Office No. Fourteen Vote for One	Judge of the Superior Court Office No. Twenty Vote for One
CARL HINSHAW Congressman			BENJAMIN J. SCHEINMAN Judge of the Superior Court	ALFRED L. BARTLETT Judge of the Superior Court
CHARLES H. RANDALL Legislative Research		Judge of the Superior Court Office No. Five Vote for One		
MATT N. SIMON Research Technician		DENNIS G. DONAHUE Attorney	Judge of the Superior Court Office No. Fifteen Vote for One	
ARCHIBALD E. YOUNG		CHARLES E. HAAS Judge of the Superior Court		
			Judge of the Superior Court Office No. Sixteen Vote for One	
		Judge of the Superior Court Office No. Six Vote for One	WILLIAM B. MCKESSOR Judge of the Superior Court	District Attorney Vote for One
LEGISLATIVE		GEORGIA P. BULLOCK Judge of the Superior Court	DAILEY S. STAFFORD	WALLACE L. WARE Lawyer
Member Assembly Forty-Second District Vote for One		Judge of the Superior Court Office No. Seven Vote for One		HENRY I. DOCKWELLER Attorney at Law
EVERETT G. BURKHALTER Member of Assembly, California Legislature		HENRY M. WILLIS Judge of the Superior Court	Judge of the Superior Court Office No. Fifteen Vote for One	FRED N. HOWSER District Attorney of Los Angeles County
TREODORE J. HANSARD			JESS E. STEPHENS Judge of the Superior Court	
ROY A. HARLOW			Judge of the Superior Court Office No. Sixteen Vote for One	Supervisor Fifth District Vote for One
WILLIAM S. MCKELVEY Salesman			CLEMENT D. NYE Judge of the Superior Court	ROGER W. JESSUP Member Board of Supervisors
CHARLES P. MCKENZIE Member, Board of Education		Judge of the Superior Court Office No. Eight Vote for One		
		CARE A. STUTSMAN Judge of the Superior Court		
		Judge of the Superior Court Office No. Nine Vote for One		
		W. TURNER FOX Judge of the Superior Court		

1258

1258

PERFORATED LINE

5 REPUBLICAN

PERFORATED LINE

Stein: Another clipping said that you had been made secretary of the county central committee, and that you were the only woman on the committee of seven members.

Fuller: Yes. That must've been later.

Stein: I think that must've been later.

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: Was that much of a problem, being the only woman in a room full of men?

Fuller: No. I've had the happy experience of working with oodles of women, but also working with oodles of men. I never felt patronized by the men. I think, because the men realized I had so many contacts with women, that I could influence so many women, that they would listen to me. If a subject would come up and I would say, "I don't think we can do that" or "I don't think we should do that" they wouldn't ask me why because they would just know that I had women to back it up. I had the numbers. They didn't. They were on more or less as individuals.

McIntyre Faries

Stein: We've already mentioned Ed Shattuck who at that time was vice-chairman of the Republican State Central Committee. Another name that came up in the notes for that period was McIntyre Faries, who was the national committeeman. Do you want to comment on him?

Fuller: McIntyre Faries was just an absolute jewel, an angel, a very quiet, soft-spoken man, an attorney. His wife was Lois and she was very active and very influential in the San Marino Republican Women's Club, which was a good sized organization. Just as gracious as can be. I can't give you any outstanding characteristics of Mac, other than his quiet, gentle firmness. He is a judge now in Los Angeles, or he was at least the last I heard.

He was a good adviser. You could go to him with any problem and he'd give it full consideration and give you a helpful suggestion. There were times when the ultra right group would be giving me some trouble and I could go to Mac, or I could just talk to Lois and she'd

Fuller: talk it over with him, and just get good solid advice. Very, very fine man. Just didn't make them better. I adored working with him because he was never bellicose or obstreperous. He worked in a quiet way, sometimes behind the scenes or sometimes right out in front, but whatever it was, he was a great man in my estimation.

[end side 2, tape 1]

The 1944 Election

[begin tape 2, side 1]

Stein: Two other names I wanted to ask you about were Republican women who held public office in this period. One of them is Kathryn Niehouse who was in the State Assembly from San Diego. Do you know her?

Fuller: I did not know her personally. I don't think she served very long. She was an assemblywoman before I was very active.

Stein: The other name is Eleanor Miller from Pasadena. That may have been before your time, because she only served up to 1941, my notes say.

Fuller: No, I didn't know her.

Stein: What about the campaigns? In 1944 there was a senatorial campaign. I thought the sample ballot in your scrapbook was very interesting. [Shows Mrs. Fuller the sample ballot.]

Fuller: Oh, yes. William Bonelli, Roland Casad, Justus Craemer, Sheridan Downey, Frederick Houser for lieutenant governor. No, he was lieutenant governor. He was running for Senator.

Stein: He was running for Senator.

Fuller: Charles Johnson, Alonzo J. Riggs, John J. Taheny, Jack B. Tenney, Philip Bancroft--Phil Bancroft. Who won that?

Stein: I was going to ask you that question.

Fuller: United States Senate. I believe--you see, Sheridan Downey was the incumbent and we worked like crazy for Fred Houser. Downey must've defeated him.

Stein: There must have been quite a bit of cross-filing in that election. It's confusing, because none of these candidates have party designations on the ballot.

Fuller: You see, what happened--now let me explain to you of more recent vintage. Bill Knowland, whatever year that was [1952], Bill Knowland cross-filed on the Democratic party. He won the Democratic nomination as well as the Republican nomination, so he didn't have to run in the general election. Now I think, if I remember correctly, Downey cross-filed but he did not win the Republican nomination. We got Houser nominated and in the finals Downey beat Houser. You see, Earl Warren always cross-filed and he won both nominations.

Stein: Yes. That's right. In fact, I think one year he won three. He won the Progressive party also.

Fuller: Yes. I was very, very sad--I think it was a great tragedy that we did lose cross-filing, for the Democrats as well as the Republicans, because if you can win in the primary then you don't have to raise all the money and go through all that campaigning in the final and it's a great help. [Referring to ballot] Yes, here you see. Legislative member, assembly [42nd district], Everett Burkhalter. He was a Democrat, and we couldn't beat him. God, I hated that man! Georgia Bullock, a judge in the superior court. She was a wonderful woman.

Stein: She was running unopposed, I see.

Fuller: Yes. This was a judicial office, and very seldom were they opposed.

Stein: I see most of them were unopposed.

Fuller: W. Turney Fox, Ingall Bull, Judge [Edward R.] Brand, Stanley Mosk.

Stein: Mosk was running for judge of the superior court.

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: So, I gather you were involved in this election in working for Houser.

Fuller: Yes, H-o-u-s-e-r.

Wallace Ware and [Henry] Dockweiler. I voted for Dockweiler. And Roger Jessup, unopposed for supervisor. He was a great old bunch of baloney. I liked him! But he had the gift of gab that just didn't quit.

Two Nixon Campaigns: 1946 and 1950

Stein: Two years later, after this election, was the first year that Richard Nixon tried for public office. It was the year that he ran against Jerry Voorhis. I wondered if you were at all involved in that campaign?

Fuller: No. I was not in that campaign. I was busy working for my own congressman, Carl Hinshaw.

Stein: I see his name a lot in your scrapbooks.

One of the things I was wondering about: in one of the reference books that we have in the office there's a little item in an article about Nixon that said that in 1946 an ad had been placed by one hundred wealthy Republicans in Whittier area newspapers. This is what the ad said, "Wanted-congressional candidate with no previous experience."*

Fuller: Yes, that was the first of the Committee of One Hundred that we tried to establish. They had several people respond to that who went before this Committee of One Hundred, the influential citizens, so-called. So, these young men, most of them recently back from the war, made a presentation and then the committee selected the one that they wanted to get behind, and that was Nixon. Now, we tried to do the same thing out in San Fernando Valley, two years later. Got into a frightful squabble. Didn't work for us.

Stein: What happened?

Fuller: Oh, I can't remember exactly. It was a young man named Joe Holt. I just can't remember, but it just didn't work for us. It worked in the Nixon campaign.

Stein: Do you remember that ad?

Fuller: I did not see it, no. But I know that was the formation of the Committee of One Hundred to select a congressman for that district and it worked. So, several other districts tried to copy it, but it never to my knowledge worked out very well.

*See David Wallechinsky and Irving Wallace, The People's Almanac (New York, 1975), p. 318.

Stein: Did the committee itself remain active?

Fuller: Oh, yes. They were the original Nixon supporters.

Stein: So they remained on as Nixon people.

Fuller: Yes. They were not a formalized committee. They were just leading businessmen and women and leaders of the community who wanted a good Republican candidate and they had no one, so they ran an ad, which was a rather unique thing to do. At least at that time it was. They found him and they always continued to support him.

Stein: Do you remember who any of these original One Hundred were?

Fuller: No. Whittier, you see, is way, way, way across town from where I lived. Whittier is on the far, far east side of Los Angeles. San Fernando Valley is the far west side. So, I was not involved in that one.

Now, later when Nixon ran against Helen Gahagan Douglas we got very involved. Of course, that was a senatorial campaign. I remember he came into San Fernando, the city of San Fernando, and I was running a campaign office over there at that time. So, we rallied the troops around to meet him.

Then, the next day Mrs. Douglas arrived, helicopters being very, very new in those days, you know. She's terribly dramatic in her dress. Of course, she's an actress. A few of us went out just out of curiosity and there weren't very many people there. San Fernando in those days was primarily a Mexican-American town. There were only a few people there to meet her, but she stepped off this helicopter--and have you ever gotten off a helicopter?

Stein: There's a lot of wind.

Fuller: With all the wind. She had a long black dress. I mean full length. This was afternoon. She was dressed to go to a tea or reception or something. Long, black flowing dress, black gloves to here [indicating her elbows], and a great big black hat with a red rose on it. And if she didn't look like a mess getting off that helicopter! She didn't wait till the rotor stopped.

Stein: President Ford has his own difficulties getting in and off helicopters. I know it's not easy.

Fuller: Evidently he doesn't duck. Poor guy's bumped his head so many times.

The Warren Gubernatorial Campaign, 1946

Stein: To back up a moment, did you do any work for the Warren campaign that year?

Fuller: I didn't take any specific position in the campaign on a committee or anything like that. But, because he was our candidate, I worked for him as I worked for all candidates at that time. I wasn't on his campaign advisory committee or anything like that, but I spoke for him at any time and any place available.

Whoever had been our Republican governor at that time, if I had approved of him, I would've worked just because he was the Republican candidate, because I was always just a party follower or leader at various times. He was our governor so we worked hard to reelect him. What position was I in then, Southern Division [of the California Council of Republican Women]?

Stein: I think that you were just still with the San Fernando Valley Republican Women's Club.

Fuller: San Fernando Valley, yes. Well, whatever it was, he was our candidate, so I worked for him, but I wasn't in any campaign headquarters or anything like that.

Southern Division, California Council of Republican Women, 1948-1950

Election of Officers, October, 1948

Stein: I think I'm about ready to move on to 1948. In October of '48 you were elected president of the Southern Division of the California Council of Republican Women.

Fuller: I think so.

Stein: That's what the newspaper clipping said. How did you come to be nominated for that?

Fuller: They had a nominating committee and my name was put up for nomination. The nominating committee always names a slate of officers that they recommend for nomination. My name was put up that way. Was that the year that Mrs. Walton opposed me?

Stein: No. That was the year that Mrs. Tony Wahn opposed you. Now, who was she?

Fuller: She was kind of a sweet little gal, sort of a little spitfire, but backed by the people who always opposed me.

Stein: You seem to have had this undercurrent of ultra, ultra opponents all along.

Fuller: Yes. If she hadn't opposed me I would have put her on my board of directors in some capacity. She was a smart little gal. Oh, we always got along all right. She wasn't much bigger than you are. Her husband was an advertising man. They were rather wealthy people, the Hollywood life. Pacific Outdoor Advertising Co.

Stein: Now, at the same time there were four other ladies elected to office. One was Mrs. A.W. Vasey. I've seen her name a lot in these clippings.

Fuller: Yes. She was one of the older women from Long Beach and a darling lady.

Stein: Mrs. Ward Daniels.

Fuller: Mrs. Ward Daniels was a very dear friend of mine from Ventura.

Stein: Mrs. Ruth Brewer.

Fuller: I can't recall who she was. She was probably somebody that one of the clubs in the outlying area put up and I just can't recall.

Stein: Mrs. Ruth Bethurum.

Fuller: She was just a very fine lady who was proposed for office. You see, the various clubs recommended to the nominating committee prior to each of the conventions women that they thought should be on the board, be elected on the slate. Then, the nominating committee selected from the best of them.

Stein: Which club was she from?

Fuller: I'm not sure whether she was Riverside or Corona. It was out in that area.

Stein: Was she one of your allies in the organization?

Fuller: Oh, yes.

Fuller: [Looking at interview outline] Gee, I was precocious. [Reading from outline] "At California Council of Republican Women pre-convention session in Santa Barbara in December, 1948, Mrs. Fuller proposed that local clubs' by-laws provide for at least one-third of club board members to be under thirty."*

Stein: I was going to ask you about that.

Fuller: It probably got beaten. [Laughter]

Stein: I was thinking that that was quite a modern proposal.

Fuller: Yes. I was in my thirties myself.

Stein: I could see that you were trying to get some allies.

Fuller: Yes.

Meetings and Issues

Stein: Then I came across some samples of speakers and programs that you had. Now, did the southern division itself meet periodically?

Fuller: They met once a year.

Stein: Just once a year?

Fuller: Yes. The state is divided in three sections. Roughly, San Francisco, San Mateo, and Sacramento County northward constituted the northern division, and the southern division went--of course you know Los Angeles County goes up almost as far as the Tehachapi and across, and then the central division was a very--I don't want to call them a weak division--but had less population.

The advantage of being elected president of a board like that is that you are able to bring in people to do jobs: membership chairman, finance chairman, program chairman, political education chairman. Those

*The source for this information is a Los Angeles Times clipping dated 12/3/48, in Mrs. Fuller's scrapbook. [Ed. note]

Fuller: are all appointed jobs that the president of the board proposes and then the board says yes or no. That's the way we were able to bring in younger women, in chairmanship positions.

So, Mrs. Betty Jo Shelton down in Los Angeles who is now a judge, whom I mentioned to you, she was just fresh out of law school and as pretty as a picture and smart as could be, so we made her legislative chairman. This little young girl, Mary Topper, we appointed her education chairman because she was the one who had sparkplugged our study group program.

The clubs all around Southern California, each seemed to have an outstanding person and they'd want them to be on the board. The board would meet once a month or once every two months, I forget which, and get reports from the clubs and make suggestions. I think it was about that time that we began putting out a council bulletin with suggestions to the clubs.

Stein: There hadn't been one before that?

Fuller: No.

Stein: The head of the council was also a volunteer position?

Fuller: Oh, yes.

Stein: The southern division met once a year. Was that prior to the California federation meeting?

Fuller: The California federation only met every two years. Then the divisions met once a year.

Stein: How about the national?

Fuller: The national met every two years.

Stein: I assume that the local meetings would all precede the broader meetings in the years that they were held.

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: One of the things I noticed in the clippings was that in March of 1949 the southern division passed resolutions opposing the compulsory health insurance plans proposed by President Truman and Governor Warren as further trends toward government control.

Fuller: Right.

Stein: I was interested in that because you had spoken about yourself and a number of others being staunch Warren supporters.

Fuller: Well, staunch Warren supporter yes, but there were some things that I and some of our members disagreed with him on.

I remember we were having a board meeting sometime or other in Sacramento. I can't recall whether it was Jessie Williamson or Marjorie Benedict. Anyway, it was arranged that we would go to have dinner with the Governor and Mrs. Warren at the mansion. All the ladies were very nice and polite and sedate.

Earl Warren loved an adversary. He loved to play the devil's advocate. I was the only one who would speak up, and we had a great time. He was down at that end of the table and Mrs. Warren, of course, was at this end and I was somewhere. So, I was looking directly at him and he at me. We just had fine arguments over agricultural subjects and the health program, national health.

Yet I understood Earl Warren's position on the health program. I didn't agree with it and I don't agree with it now, national health insurance. Medicare is in enough trouble as it is. And Blue Cross is in a frightful mess.

But, if you understand Earl Warren's background, and you probably know this better than I, but as a young boy his father worked on the railroad and was in an industrial accident and it was very, very difficult for the family. Governor Warren put through the workmen's compensation bill which I approved of. But, we just had a great deal of fun arguing about that. My husband did not like Earl Warren at all.

Stein: Why not?

Fuller: Oh, don't ask me why. I don't know. My husband was an agriculturalist and as I recall Earl Warren had done something to the agriculturalists, so he didn't like him. My husband was always a good sport about it. When I went back as a delegate on the Warren delegation, my husband through the Sunkist organization was good enough to provide all the orange juice for the pressroom and all the buttons for the delegates and whatnot like that. But he was just not an enthusiastic supporter, let's say.

Stein: What other issues did you differ with Warren on? There were several other very controversial issues. Oil was one. He had a gas tax to raise money to build state highways and there was a lot of objection to that.

Fuller: I don't associate that with him so much. I always think of Randolph Collier, the senator, as being the one who pushed the gas tax through to build the highways. I could be wrong on that, but I always associate our modern highways with Senator Collier. I only have a superficial recollection.

California Delegation

Stein: Okay. Let's just get started on the 1948 convention and campaign. You were chosen for the delegation and I wondered how you got to be chosen. Who chose you?

Fuller: I can't give you a specific answer, but I suspect that it was Jessie Williamson who proposed my name.

Stein: Who chooses the members of the delegation?

Fuller: Technically the candidate himself. In other words, Earl Warren chose them. But, he had advisers like everybody has advisers. McIntyre Faries was national committeeman and I think probably he and Jessie Williamson were responsible for it. I never knew, never asked. I was just happy to be there. I think Earl Warren did not object to me, because I was a bit saucy the night that we had been to dinner. I would be the only one that would speak up. He knew I liked him, but nobody else would argue with him and he liked to argue! That's just the nature of being an attorney. There was always friendliness.

Stein: You were one of eight women in the delegation, it said in one of the clippings.

Fuller: I believe that's right.

Stein: I can't remember if in your scrapbook there was a list of all the delegates.

Fuller: Yes, there is. I looked at it this morning.

[Tape off while Mrs. Fuller gets list of delegates]

Jean Fuller
16900 Magnolia
Eucine California
Temporary Roll

116-24782
Mon 65a

Warwick 828 of
Delegates
and
Alternate Delegates
to

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
June 21, 1948

Republican National Committee

ARKANSAS (Continued)

65b

DELEGATES

- 6—V. L. Tindall.....Stuttgart
Box 407
7—Hugh R. Hogg.....Camden
228 Madison

ALTERNATES

- 6—Oscar BorahMalvern
7—R. F. Foster.....Emerson

CALIFORNIA

(Fifty-three Delegates)

Note—Opposite each delegate is shown the alternate for that particular delegate

DELEGATES

ALTERNATES

AT LARGE

- William F. Knowland.....Piedmont
100 Guilford Road
Arthur W. Carlson.....Danville
Del Amigo Road
Edward S. Shattuck.....Los Angeles
3817 Broadlawn Drive
Robert Gordon Sproul.....Berkeley
President's House, Univ. of Calif. Campus
Leonard K. Firestone.....Beverly Hills
1014 Laurel Lane
McIntyre Faries.....San Marino
2464 Ridgeway Road
George L. Murphy.....Beverly Hills
911 N. Bradford Drive

- J. Leroy Johnson.....Washington, D. C.
House Office Building
Harold Lloyd.....Beverly Hills
1225 N. Benedict
Carl Hinshaw.....Washington, D. C.
House Office Building
Arthur H. Breed, Jr.....Oakland
1111 Jackson Street
Leighton M. Battson.....Los Angeles
714 W. Olympic Boulevard
Harry Finks.....Sacramento
2315 L Street
C. Ray Robinson.....Merced
Box 779

DISTRICTS

- 1—Culver C. Rogers.....Chico
342 W. 11th Street
Charles R. Barnum.....Eureka
2519 G Street
2—Jesse M. Mayo.....Angels Camp
Harold J. Powers.....Eagleville
3—Warren H. Atherton.....Stockton
1900 Moreing Road
Philip Charles Wilkins.....Sacramento
924 21st Street
4—George Toland Cameron...San Francisco
1100 Sacramento Street
Jesse Henry Steinhart...San Francisco
2212 Vallejo Street
5—William A. O'Brien.....San Francisco
27 San Benito Way
Melvyn I. Cronin.....San Francisco
332 Garces Drive
6—Arthur F. Strehlow.....Alameda
1801 High Street
Truman H. DeLap.....El Cerrito
2616 Sonoma Avenue
7—Jessie Williamson.....Berkeley
2816 Oak Knoll Terrace
William F. Reichel.....Piedmont
50 St. James Place
8—Elystus L. Hayes.....Los Gatos
Overlook Road
Murray Draper.....San Mateo
520 Aragon Boulevard
9—Mrs. Alberta K. Dunkle.....Fresno
1903 S. 3rd Street
Milton M. Reiman.....Planada
10—Arthur S. Crites.....Bakersfield
1001 Oleander Avenue
Robert T. Dofflemyer.....Exeter
11—Samuel F. B. Morse.....Pebble Beach
Percy C. Hackendorf...Santa Barbara
32 E. Junipero
12—John J. Garland.....San Marino
1999S. Oak Knoll Avenue
Roy O. Day.....Pomona
1190 Cara Vista Drive
13—Mrs. Nina M. Dodsworth...Los Angeles
3712 Glen Feliz
Joseph F. Holt, III.....Los Angeles
5406 Los Feliz Boulevard

- 1—Frank A. Hoberg.....Lake County
Hoberg's
T. Frederick Bagshaw.....Mill Valley
317 Hillside Avenue
2—Andrew R. Schottky.....Mariposa
1849 Bullion Street
Frank J. Solinsky, Jr....Mokelumne Hill
3—Thomas McCornack.....Rio Vista
Gerald R. Johnson.....Sacramento
466 Crocker Road
4—Mrs. Pearl E. Baker.....San Francisco
1800 Broadway
Stephen Malatesta.....San Francisco
275 Telegraph Hill Boulevard
5—James J. Sullivan.....San Francisco
31 W. Portal Avenue
Mrs. Samuel G. Clark....San Francisco
378 Parnassus
6—John J. Mulvaney.....Alameda
1511 Park Street
Joseph A. Schenone.....Livermore
632 S. M Street
7—Kent D. Pursel.....Berkeley
1559 Arch Street
Harold C. Holmes, Jr....Oakland
Financial Center Building
8—Worth A. Brown.....Capitola
William C. Troyer.....Santa Cruz
Casino Building
9—Bertrand W. Gearhart Washington, D.C.
House Office Building
Leslie A. Cleary.....Modesto
R. 2. Box 901-0
10—Mrs. Margaret C. Goode...Bakersfield
625 Holtby Road
Mrs. Florence M. Doe.....Visalia
P. O. Box 401
11—Mrs. Peggy Marquard...Carmel Valley
Thomas M. Mullen.....Santa Barbara
26 E. Carrillo Street
12—Mrs. Mildred Biddick....San Gabriel
521 Milton Drive
Preston Hotchkis.....Los Angeles
523 W. 6th Street
13—Mrs. Andrea K. Hayward...Los Angeles
1100 Church Street
Glenn S. Dumke.....Los Angeles
Occidental College

CALIFORNIA (Continued)

65c

DELEGATES

- 14—John C. Lyons..... Los Angeles
705 N. Robinson Street
Echo Stanton Robinson..... Los Angeles
777 ½ E. 46th Street
15—Laughlin E. Waters..... Los Angeles
1163 Fourth Avenue
Willard W. Keith..... Los Angeles
400 S. Rimpau Boulevard
16—Paul H. Helms..... Los Angeles
501 Loring Avenue
Mendel B. Silberberg..... Beverly Hills
802 N. Rexford Drive
17—Raymond V. Darby..... Inglewood
8905 8th Avenue
Lloyd A. Mashburn..... Los Angeles
209 E. 99th Street
18—Mrs. Maude K. Vasey..... Long Beach
3953 E. 3rd Street
Lloyd S. Whaley..... Long Beach
4424 Vermont Street
19—Mrs. Edith A. Jaeger..... Huntington Park
6702 Benson Street
Hollis M. Peavey..... Huntington Park
6823 Cedar Street
20—Mrs. Jean W. Fuller..... Los Angeles
16900 Magnolia Boulevard
Joseph Scott..... Pasadena
1199 S. Orange Grove Avenue
21—William G. Moore..... Redlands
712 S. Buena Vista Street
Leland S. Davidson..... Ontario
212 Armsley Square
22—Gordon X. Richmond..... Orange
191 Monterey Road
Mrs. Lelia Eastman..... Orange
724 E. Palmyra Street
23—William O. Cotton..... San Diego
4204 Arden Way
Frederick C. Sherman..... San Diego
3118 McCall Street

ALTERNATES

- 14—William D. Campbell..... Los Angeles
22 Chester Place
Frederick M. Roberts..... Los Angeles
350 E. Jefferson Boulevard
15—Charles Conrad..... Los Angeles
1214 N. Gower Street
Henry T. Mudd..... Los Angeles
1206 Pacific Mutual Building
16—Mrs. Margaret M. Brock..... Los Angeles
1424 Club View Drive
Edward Schildhauer..... Los Angeles
223 Bronwood
17—Robert H. Finch..... Inglewood
8502 2nd Avenue
Mrs. Jean W. Haley..... San Pedro
P. O. Box 550
18—Mrs. Sammie Gilstrap..... Long Beach
939 Lime Avenue
Mrs. Jane Storrs..... Long Beach
34 60th Place
19—Homer L. Smith..... Los Angeles
411 W. 5th Street
Mrs. Ida Koverman..... Culver City
M-G-M Studios
20—Frank P. Doherty..... Lacanada
1029 Vista Del Valle
Bernard C. Brennan..... Los Angeles
453 S. Spring Street
21—J. Leo Flynn..... San Fernando
Porter Hotel
Fred B. Mack..... San Bernardino
511 Base Line
22—
Philip L. Boyd..... Riverside
4586 6th Street
23—Walter L. Forward, Jr..... San Diego
5019 Bristol Road
John A. Steiger..... Oceanside
P. O. Box 276

COLORADO (Fifteen Delegates)

DELEGATES

- Eugene D. Millikin..... Denver
First National Bank Building
Ralph L. Carr..... Denver
Symes Building
Mrs. Ruth Stockton..... Denver 15
1765 Glen Dale
Allan R. Phipps..... Denver
International Trust Building
William E. Higby..... Monument
Lincoln D. Coit..... Grand Junction
124 N. 5th Street
Thomas A. Dines..... Denver
U. S. National Bank Building

AT LARGE

- Mrs. Mildred Westbrook..... Denver
2555 Glenarm Place
Mrs. Ruth Evans..... Denver
900 Sherman Street
John Schwarz..... Denver 14
3985 Eaton Street
Lowell White..... Denver
Equitable Building
John D. Deets..... Boulder
Paul V. Pattridge..... Golden
Frank L. Fetzner..... Denver
Midland Savings Building

ALTERNATES

DISTRICTS

- 1—Charles A. Baer..... Denver
1725 Sherman
Gail L. Ireland..... Denver
2036 Glencoe
2—Mrs. Charlotte Wiggins..... Longmont
Carl Jacobson..... Denver
Box 101
3—Gordon Allott..... Lamar
Dean Kendall..... La Junta
4—Frank Daugherty..... Steamboat Springs
Frank Kennedy..... Meeker

- 1—Harold Taft King..... Denver
684 Ash
Miss Mary Pemberton..... Denver
Park Lane Hotel
2—Walter R. McKinstry..... Julesberg
Mrs. William Farr..... Greeley
3—W. T. H. Baker..... Pueblo
E. H. Stineneyer..... Canon City
516 Griffin Avenue
4—H. W. White..... Grand Junction
Route No. 3
Edgar W. Bray..... Redvale

MEMORANDA

Earl Warner President... Bellevue-Stratford L(C)cust 4-3113
 Convention quarters Bellevue-Stratford Penny packer 5-0700
 Warwick Hotel Penny packer 5-3800
 Sylvania Hotel

Tom Keedy of Southern Pacific and Doug Seaman of Pennsylvania Railroad will be available in Car 1, Comp. B, on the train and at the Warwick Hotel to assist you with your return train reservations from Philadelphia.

CALIFORNIA DELEGATION

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REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

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Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

June 21, 1948



NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN Mr. McIntyre Faints
NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN . . Mrs. Jessie Williamson

★ ★ ★

DELEGATION OFFICERS

Chairman_____

Vice Chairman_____

Vice Chairman_____

Secretary_____

Sergeant at Arms_____

★ ★ ★

COMMITTEE APPOINTMENTS

RESOLUTIONS Mr. Gordon X. Richmond

Mrs. Jean W. Fuller

CREDENTIALS Mrs. Alberta K. Dunkle

PERMANENT ORGANIZATION . Mr. George L. Murphy

RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS . Mrs. Maude K. Vasey

★ ★ ★

EARL WARREN FOR PRESIDENT - Bellevue-Stratford Hotel
CALIFORNIA CAUCUS ROOM . Mirror Room, Warwick Hotel

EARL WARREN

CALIFORNIA

Delegate	Mailing Address
1. Senator William F. Knowland	Senate Office Bldg., Washington, D. C.
2. Mr. Arthur W. Carlson	1503 Central Bank Bldg., Oakland
3. Mr. Edward S. Shattuck	737 Pacific Mutual Bldg., Los Angeles
4. Dr. Robert Gordon Sprout	Univ. of Calif. Campus, Berkeley
5. Mr. Leonard K. Firestone	Box 2037 Terminal Annex, Los Angeles
6. Mr. McInyre Faries	812 Subway Terminal Bldg., Los Angeles
7. Mr. George L. Murphy	911 N. Bedford Dr., Beverly Hills
8. Mr. Culver C. Rogers	312 W. 11th St., Chico
9. Mr. Charles R. Barnum	203 - 5th St., Eureka
10. Senator Jesse M. Mayo	Angels Camp
11. Senator Harold J. Powers	Eagleville
12. Mr. Warren H. Atherton	520 American Trust Bldg., Stockton
13. Mr. Philip Charles Wilkins	924 21st St., Sacramento
14. Mr. George T. Cameron	The Chronicle, San Francisco
15. Mr. Jesse H. Steinhart	111 Sutter St., San Francisco
16. Mr. William A. O'Brien	1307 Mills Tower, San Francisco
17. Judge Melvyn I. Cronin	City Hall, San Francisco
18. Mr. Arthur F. Strehlow	1801 High St., Alameda
19. Senator Truman H. De Lap	406 American Trust Bldg., Richmond
20. Mrs. Jessie Williamson	2816 Oak Knoll Terrace, Berkeley
21. Mr. William F. Reichel	Triumph Tower Bldg., Oakland
22. Mr. Elysius L. Hayes	Mercury Herald & News, San Jose
23. Mr. Murray Draper	231 2nd Ave., San Mateo
24. Mrs. Alberta K. Dunkle	1903 So. 3rd St., Fresno
25. Mr. Milton M. Reiman	P. O. Box 37, Plamada
26. Mr. Arthur S. Crites	1001 Olander Ave., Bakersfield
27. Mr. Robert T. Doffenmyer	Route 1, Box 72, Exeter
28. Mr. Samuel F. B. Morse	Del Monte
29. Mr. Percy C. Heckendorf	32 Howard-Canfield Bldg., Santa Barbara
30. Mr. John J. Garland	117 W. 9th St., Los Angeles
31. Mr. Roy O. Day	Progress Bulletin, Pomona
32. Mrs. Nina M. Dodsworth	8712 Glen Feliz, Los Angeles
33. Mr. Joseph F. Holt III	1150 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles
34. Mr. John C. Lyons	705 No. Robinson, Los Angeles
35. Mrs. Echo Stanton Robinson	777½ East 40th St., Los Angeles
36. Mr. Laughlin E. Waters	727 W. 7th St., Los Angeles
37. Mr. Willard W. Keith	714 W. Olympic Blvd., Los Angeles
38. Mr. Paul H. Helms	501 Loring Ave., Los Angeles
39. Mr. M. B. Silberberg	727 W. 7th St., Los Angeles
40. Mr. Raymond V. Darity	501 Hall of Records, Los Angeles
41. Mr. Lloyd A. Mashburn	209 E. 99th St., Los Angeles
42. Mrs. Maude K. Vasey	3953 E. 3rd St., Long Beach
43. Mr. Lloyd S. Whaley	4139 Atlantic Ave., Long Beach
44. Mrs. Edith A. Jaeger	6702 Benson St., Huntington Park
45. Mr. Hollis M. Peavey	6823 Cedar St., Huntington Park
46. Mrs. Jean W. Fuller	16900 Magnolia Blvd., Encino
47. Mr. Joseph Scott	1199 S. Orange Grove, Pasadena
48. Mr. William G. Moore	P. O. Box 191, Redlands
49. Mr. Leland S. Davidson	212 Armistey Square, Ontario
50. Mr. Gordon X. Richmond	84 Plaza, Orange
51. Mrs. Lelia Fastman	721 E. Palmyra, Orange
52. Mr. William O. Cotton	524 N. St., San Diego
53. Admiral Frederick C. Sherman	3118 McCall St., San Diego

DELEGATION

Train Address	Hotel	Room No.
Car 6, Draw. Rm. C	Warwick	1
Car 7, Draw. Rm. B	Warwick	2
Car 6, Comp. I	Warwick	3
	Warwick	4
	Warwick	5
Car 10, Sec. 3	Warwick	6
Car 2, Comp. C	Warwick	7
Car 10, Draw. Rm. A	Warwick	8
Car 5, Comp. E	Warwick	9
Car 4, Draw. Rm. I	Warwick	10
Car 3, Bedroom E	Warwick	11
	Warwick	12
Car 3, Draw. Rm. C	Warwick	13
Car 5, Comp. H	Warwick	14
Car 5, Draw. Rm. A	Warwick	15
Car 3, Bedroom C	Warwick	16
Car 5, Comp. F	Warwick	17
	Warwick	18
	Warwick	19
	Warwick	20
Car 3, Bedroom D	Warwick	21
Car 10, Comp. B	Warwick	22
Car 1, Comp. C	Warwick	23
Car 2, Draw. Rm. A	Warwick	24
Car 10, Sec. 7	Warwick	25
	Warwick	26
Car 8, Draw. Rm. A	Warwick	27
Car 7, Draw. Rm. A	Warwick	28
Car 10, Sec. 2	Warwick	29
Car 11, Comp. B	Warwick	30
Car 9, Draw. Rm. A	Warwick	31
Car 8, Comp. E	Warwick	32
Car 9, Bedroom C	Warwick	33
Car 9, Draw. Rm. A	Warwick	34
Car 7, Comp. H	Warwick	35
	Warwick	36
Car 7, Comp. E	Warwick	37
Car 8, Comp. D	Warwick	38
	Warwick	39
Car 10, Comp. B	Warwick	40
Car 10, Comp. C	Warwick	41
Car 11 Comp. B	Warwick	42
Car 8, Comp. H	Warwick	43
	Warwick	44
	Warwick	45
Car 7, Comp. I	Warwick	46
Car 9, Bedroom D	Warwick	47
	Warwick	48
Car 8, Draw. Rm. B	Warwick	49
Car 8, Comp. C	Warwick	50
Car 8, Draw. Rm. A	Warwick	51
	Warwick	52
	Warwick	53

Stein: This is called "Temporary Roll of Delegates and Alternate Delegates to the Republican National Convention."

Fuller: Yes. They call them temporary delegates and then when you get to the convention I believe it's the rules committee that confirms them. And if there are any last minute changes, I think they can be made.

Stein: William Knowland was the delegation chairman, is that correct?

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: Arthur Carlson and Ed Shattuck were vice-chairmen.

Fuller: Yes, that's right.

Stein: Can you tell me anything about Arthur Carlson?

Fuller: No, he was a Northern Californian. He was a sweet man. I can see him in my mind's eye. He came from Danville. He was just a nice man. I didn't know him personally. [Looking at delegate list] Ed Shattuck. Robert Gordon Sproul--he was an impressive man. Did you ever see him before he died?

Stein: No, I've just seen pictures of him.

Fuller: Leonard Firestone, that's rubber, you know. McIntyre Faries and George Murphy. Harold Lloyd was on our delegation. He was a doll. Warren Atherton.

You see, these come by congressional districts. District One starts in the north. Warren Atherton, George Cameron--he's San Francisco Examiner or Chronicle, I forget. Arthur Strehlow--it was his father who developed Treasure Island for the world's fair. Jessie Williamson, William Reichel. Do you know if he is alive? My, he was a nice man.

Samuel F.B. Morris, who started Pebble Beach. John J. Garland, Roy O. Day, Mrs. Nina Dodsworth, Joseph Holt, John Lyons, Echo Stanton Robinson--she was a colored woman. Laughlin Waters later became U.S. Attorney. Willard Kieth, just a "Mr. Big." Paul H. Helms, owner of Helms' Bakeries, another "Mr. Big." Mendel B. Silberberg--very prominent in the motion picture industry.

Raymond Darby--I didn't know him. Lloyd Mashburn and Maude Vasey--she was the little lady from Long Beach. Lloyd Whaley, he was a big land developer. Edith Jaeger, she was a longtime worker. Gordon Richmond,

Fuller: Lelia Eastman. You see, my alternate was Frank Doherty. He was the dean of attorneys in Los Angeles. Bernard Brennan was another delegate. Isn't that fun to see those names!

Stein: That must bring back a lot of memories.

Fuller: Oh, yes.

Stein: I gather that the California delegation set up headquarters in the Warwick Hotel.

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: At this point you were pledged to Earl Warren's candidacy for president?

Fuller: Yes.

[end tape 2, side 1]

Member, Platform Committee

[Interview 3, 3 September 1976]

[begin tape 1, side 1]

Stein: Where we left off last week, you were at the 1948 Republican convention back in Philadelphia. I thought we'd start this time by discussing your work on the platform committee. I discovered in one of my notes that a Mrs. Marion Schulte from the state of Washington was vice-chairman of that committee. Do you remember her?

Fuller: Not vividly.

Stein: I think the most important story as far as you're concerned with the platform committee is the work you did in the agriculture subcommittee. Could you tell me a little bit about that?

Fuller: Of course, this is agriculture in the broad spectrum of the whole United States and all agricultural interests are not alike. For instance, in California we have some very fine cooperatives such as Sunkist. Nearly every fruit product has a cooperative type organization. Back in the Midwest you had the dairy cooperatives who were very strong in their work. Of course, they were against any kind of margarine or butter substitute. So, there was a great deal of pressure from various agricultural interests all over the United States.

Fuller: At that time there were very, very few agricultural products that received government subsidies. Basically, I think the platform, the agricultural subcommittee, was against subsidies, and yet there were those who were as strongly on the other side wanting government subsidies. One of the big points of interest was the subsidy program.

It was rather soon, historically speaking, after the great Dust Bowl period when the farmers were wiped out and there was no government help at that time as there is now. There were those that felt that in times of drought or other serious problems government should help the farmers more than they were doing at that time.

So, I took the position of being in favor of the marketing cooperatives and didn't get too involved in it because that was my only--I would say my chief--interest in it. None of our marketing cooperatives received any subsidies at all. We didn't feel that they should.

Later the programs for subsidizing all sorts of things--grain farmers and peanut farmers and whatnot like that--came into being, but your citrus products, your California fruit products, have never received government subsidies. They're an independent breed of farmers.

Stein: Were you responsible for that one little plank in the platform in which agricultural cooperatives are endorsed?*

Fuller: Yes. Yes, I was on the side that was--you see, that was about a seven man/woman committee. There wasn't any particular inharmony within the committee itself, but when we would get outside of the committee room we would be bombarded with people lobbying for their particular sides or interests. That was perhaps most interesting to me. I cannot be specific about any of it except that I had never been in a position to receive such persuasive pressures as I received at that time. But, we had no particular problem within the agricultural committee.

Stein: You were the only woman on that committee, as I remember?

Fuller: I believe so.

*"There must be a long-term program in the interest of agriculture and the consumer which should include: ...support of the principle of bona fide farmer-owned and farmer-operated cooperatives." Republican party platform, 1948.

Stein: Did you find that a help or a hindrance at all?

Fuller: Made no difference because I have always enjoyed working with men and I'll speak my piece when I feel it's important to. However, there were men on the committee who were perhaps more vocal than I, but I happened to agree with them so I just let them carry the ball.

I've always felt that it was wiser, and I still maintain it's wiser, but if there is a man who is correct in expressing the ideas that I believe in, I'd just as soon let him do the speaking. If I disagree I'll speak up. But, I think being a lone woman on a panel like that, it's important that they know you're there and that you are asked your opinion and that you give it, but not try to steal the show. Usually comes out best that way.

Stein: I see in my notes that Ancher Nelson of Minnesota was chairman of the agriculture subcommittee.

Fuller: Yes. Ancher Nelson was a very, very fine man. His interests were primarily those of Minnesota and the dairy interests and the grain interests of that area, but we seemed to get along just fine. They had their cooperatives up there. The only thing we might have personally disagreed on, but it wasn't a subject of discussion in the committee, was whether margarine should be banned and outlawed, as the milk producers would like to have had it.

But, he was personally a very fine man, later became lieutenant governor, and he later became chairman of I believe it was the Rural Electrification Administration, in the Eisenhower administration. He was just a great big, rawboned farmer type, but a fine, fine gentleman.

Stein: I gather then that except for a few questions such as legalizing or illegalizing margarine, the interests of the fruit growing cooperatives and the dairy cooperatives would have been substantially the same.

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: I believe that the other subcommittee that you served on was the drafting subcommittee. Is that true?

Fuller: The drafting committee. That is where it became very interesting. My California counterpart was Gordon Richmond who had served on the interior subcommittee and that is the one where the tidelands oil subject was brought up. Of course, we of California were in favor of drilling tidelands oil. Midwestern people and really Eastern people cared nothing about it at all. It was of no issue to them at that time. I hope it is now. [Laughter]

Stein: Wasn't part of that issue who would take jurisdiction over it once it was drilled, whether it would be state or federal?

Fuller: Yes, state or federal, yes. But, the issue at that time was just-- well, I'm not sure because I was not on that committee, but I think California claimed the right to three miles out and the federal government beyond that. That has pretty well stood up in later decisions, because down in Southern California, right along the beach, particularly there in Huntington Beach and Seal Beach, there are many, many wells pumping like mad and have been for years and years, doing slant drilling. The pumper is on the bluff above the shore, but their lines may go thousands of feet out underneath the ocean in the slant drilling process.

Because, as I say, it was of interest to California and it was of interest to some of the Gulf states, we had little support, or our position had little support in the interior committee because it was of no interest to the Midwest states and it was no interest to the Eastern seaboard at that time. I do not recall the recommendation that they made. I think they came out in favor of the California position and Cabot Lodge and the Eastern seaboard people were opposed to it. In fact, they wanted to cross it out of the draft completely, that it was not an issue.

That's when I was able to tell Gordon Richmond and my friend and adviser Frank Doherty, a very elderly, brilliant attorney, that the drafting committee was going to throw it out. But, they [Richmond and Doherty] got busy and that's when the Californians really began to lobby the representatives of the other states who were on the drafting committee. Then, that's when I had the fun and pleasure of informing Mr. Lodge in a quiet way that we were going to beat him.

Stein: Do you want to tell that story? I think it's a delightful story.

Fuller: Well, yes, particularly since the poor old Bellevue Stratford Hotel is so much in the news these days.* It was interesting. The very top floor of Bellevue Stratford is a large domed auditorium area,

*The Bellevue Stratford, one of Philadelphia's most venerable hotels, was the target of suspicion and investigation, after a mysterious malady killed twenty-nine American Legionnaires shortly after they had attended an American Legion convention at the hotel in the summer of 1976. No cause of the deaths was ever found.

Fuller: completely round. Senator Lodge and his first assistant, a Mr. Bell, and two or three others were sitting up at the table at the front. The members of the committee of the whole had not arrived in any great number at that time.

I realized as I sat down in the very back row that I could hear what Mr. Lodge and his assistants were whispering to each other. The microphone was not on. I thought, "Well, isn't this strange that I can hear them." Then, I began looking at the structure of the room and figured out that I was at the exact distance from the top of the dome that they were, and realized that the acoustics of it was that it was carrying it up to that dome and coming down to me.

I thought, "Well, if it works that way it'll work the other way." So, I just said, "Mr. Lodge, this is Jean Fuller from California." He looked rather startled and looked around. There weren't many people in the room. Then, he saw me in the back of the room. He said, "What?" I said, "Mr. Lodge, we're going to beat you." He said, "What are you talking about?" I said, "We're going to beat you on the tidelands oil issue." He said, "You can't do it." I shook my finger at him like a little old schoolteacher and said, "We're going to do it." He got a very angry look on his face and he began whispering to his cohorts again. Then, they began putting their hands over the microphones because they thought that's what was carrying it and it wasn't that at all.

So, the members began to gather and the room filled up. As that happened then this acoustical phenomenon ceased. It was just because the room was empty at the time. So, we took it to a floor fight and Gordon Richmond--

Stein: Now this is a floor fight of the platform committee?

Fuller: Committee of the whole. So, Gordon Richmond was a very eloquent speaker, an attorney from Orange County. He carried the fight to the floor. A vote was called for after much argument pro and con and a vote was taken. We carried by about ten votes. So, it was sort of a fun, victorious day, sort of exhilarating! That was really the only fight on the final draft, the final acceptance by the committee.

Stein: I think I have it in my notes. The plank just simply read, "We favor restoration to the states of their historic rights to the tide and submerged lands, tributary waters, lakes, and streams.

Fuller: Yes, those few words--you see, it is so difficult to write a platform because every little word has its meaning and there is some interest in this United States behind every little word and phrase. It's

Fuller: always, I'm sure, the Democrats', as well as the Republicans', goal to write a short, concise platform. It is the most difficult thing you can possibly do.

Stein: It sounds like you were able to do it quite amicably.

Fuller: Oh, yes. We were all Republicans. We wanted to get our candidate elected and you have your little squabbles or floor fights but you go out of them united. They're not that serious.

Choosing the Presidential Candidate

Stein: Speaking of working for your candidate, 1948 was an interesting convention because it wasn't absolutely certain, as I remember reading about it, who was going to get nominated.

Fuller: No, it was a very serious convention. There was a fight and evidently a rather difficult battle in the rules or the committee who certifies the delegates--I forget the name of it--because that was the year of Taft and Dewey.

As I recall, there were two delegations from, it was either Mississippi or Louisiana. I believe it was Louisiana. One declared themselves the official delegation and they were Taft people. There was another group of delegates who declared they were the official delegates and they were Dewey people. So, there was a very bitter fight in that particular committee, but I was no part of it, thank goodness.

Stein: I remember that happened in 1952 with Eisenhower, but it also happened in '48?

Fuller: Yes, it also happened in '48--the credentials committee.

Stein: I gather that Dewey won that fight?

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: The California delegation came pledged to Earl Warren as a favorite son. Is that correct?

Fuller: That's correct.

Stein: When you arrived in Philadelphia did you actually feel that he had a chance of winning?

Fuller: Only if there was a tie, a stalemate between Dewey and Taft. I think we were all realistic about that. The only thing is that we wanted his name there because if either the Taft or the Dewey forces just came to a complete deadlock, then Earl Warren, we felt, was the best selection.

Stein: When you came did you at all consider him as a vice-president candidate?

Fuller: There was some talk of that, but we took first things first. On the first vote we did vote for Earl Warren. No one, neither Dewey nor Taft, had a majority. So, it had to go to a second ballot. Senator Bill Knowland, who was the chairman of the California delegation, and then-Congressman [Richard] Nixon and three or four others--I suppose Earl Warren was in it too--met and conferred and decided that the California delegation should throw their votes to Dewey. So, when we came back for that second ballot Senator Knowland insisted that the delegation be polled. I was very uncomfortable about that.

Stein: Why so?

Fuller: Well, I didn't want to vote for Dewey.

Stein: What did you object to?

Fuller: I would rather have voted for Taft. If it wasn't going to be Earl Warren, I would rather have voted for Taft. But, as you saw in the last convention, some chairman polled the delegation, and it's a matter of hometown politics, you stay with your team. Bill Knowland had sent the word down the line that we were going to vote for Dewey. So, everyone had to be individually polled and I remember my voice coming through the microphone. It sounded like I was going to a funeral. [Laughter] I said, "Dewey," [distastefully] because I really didn't want to vote for him. But, when your party--and you're a part of a party--has made the decision, why you be a good girl and go along.

Stein: What about Taft did you prefer over Dewey?

Fuller: Much more conservative. He was the leading conservative, as we all know.

Stein: One of the things I found in doing my research was this article in Fortnight magazine, dated February 27, 1948, discussing Governor Warren's chances at the presidential nomination. They had a little chart in the article which showed about seven or eight candidates with their pros and cons. I sent you a copy of that page.

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: The thing that interested me in the discussion about Warren was that the comment against him was that he was a fence straddler, "not well known in East, hasn't clarified views on important issues." Was that a common reaction to him at the time?

Fuller: Well, I don't think it was a common reaction in California. But, you see, the Eastern seaboard at that time was a powerful bloc, and anybody from the West was not as well known as the Easterners. I could not comment because that is a nationwide-type survey and comment. I don't think they felt that in California, but it was probably an Eastern comment.

Stein: I'm still a little confused about this whole business of Taft and Warren and Dewey. Didn't Warren have a reputation as being a rather moderate to liberal Republican at the time?

Fuller: Yes, he did.

Stein: And yet, if it came down to a choice between Dewey and Taft, you would've preferred Taft.

Fuller: I would have.

Stein: I was confused about that.

Fuller: Well, I've always called myself a moderate, a moderate to conservative. Earl Warren was a moderate to liberal. I'd have been extremely happy to have seen him elected and have him as a president. But, at that time I was not enthusiastic about Dewey.

Stein: Dewey, I gather than, had a reputation as being moderate to liberal.

Fuller: The liberal. Moderate to liberal and there again Eastern seaboard and we're completely Westerners, you know. Taft was a Midwesterner.

Stein: So at least a Midwesterner was better than the established Eastern seaboard.

Fuller: Yes. Taft was a very popular figure in California political circles.

Stein: I noticed that one of my notes said that at the annual conference of the California Council of Republican Women in Pasadena that year that the membership had favored Taft as their first choice.

Fuller: Yes. Now that's not to say I didn't support Dewey and work very hard for him when he was nominated.

The Campaign

Stein: That was my next question. What did you do in the campaign, once the convention was over?

Fuller: When you're devoting yourself to your own organization, the women's organization, you're devoting most of your time and energies with them, but what you're doing is, you are encouraging them to support the ticket and support the candidates. The women of our organization generally speaking were all good little soldiers and did such.

Stein: What actually did you do? Did you go door to door?

Fuller: I personally did not go door to door in that campaign, but we did have precinct workers who did. We encouraged the women's organizations to develop their precinct organizations.

What they usually did was to work with the official committee that was set up for the candidate and to do it as a part of that. There would be an overall committee to plan strategy in certain areas and if certain precincts needed to be worked on, then they would go and do their campaigning there. Or they would oftentimes get women in a neighborhood to have a coffee hour and invite as many neighbors as they could get in, and then we'd send out a speaker and it might be only ten or twelve women, but have someone there to sort of guide them and tell them why it was important, pass out the literature. We did a lot of leg work.

Stein: What did you personally do?

Fuller: In the Dewey campaign? Well, I can't say that I personally did any more than lead my organization to support the candidate. I was a member of the county central committee and the state central committee but my job was my own women's organization that I tended to.

Stein: Did that include the whole state?

Fuller: No, I was in charge of the southern division. However, you see, southern division had more members than northern and central combined. So, it was a large organization to cover, all the way from Santa Barbara County down to San Diego and out to the Arizona border. So, there was plenty of territory to cover.

Stein: By that time that area was beginning to expand rapidly as the result of the war, wasn't it?

Fuller: Very. Yes.

Stein: I wondered if you could comment on several of the names I came across of people who worked in that campaign. At lunch you mentioned Mrs. Charles [Katherine] Howard. She was the--

Fuller: First woman secretary of the national committee. A charming lady from Boston, just lovely. Her husband was the state treasurer of Massachusetts. They had been a very influential family in the Republican party for many years. Katherine Howard had been very active and I believe had been president of the Massachusetts federation and had held all sorts of party offices. She was the national committee-woman, had been for, I believe, at least four years when she was nominated to be secretary. Mrs. Howard in the latter campaign of General Eisenhower was the one that rode on the train all over the United States, acting more or less as Mrs. Eisenhower's constant companion.

Hats

Stein: She wasn't the one with the hats, was she?

Fuller: That I got the hats for? Yes.

Stein: I don't know if we have that story. Maybe we should get that on tape.

Fuller: All right.

Stein: Was that in '48 or '52?

Fuller: Well, there are two hat stories. One concerns Jessie Williamson and one concerns Mrs. Howard. But, now we're getting into the Eisenhower years so you're not quite there yet.

Stein: Let's get the story now, anyway.

Fuller: Okay. The [1952] Eisenhower train came to California and ended at Oakland. We had a whole fleet of limousines going over from San Francisco to get the Eisenhowers and the party and the press and take them to San Francisco. It was my good fortune--because Katherine Howard spied me--to ride in the limousine with her coming back across the Bay Bridge to the hotel.

She said, "Jean, I've been on the road for three weeks. Everything I have I just hate in the way of clothes and I'm so tired of it and we're going to Los Angeles on our next stop." She said, "I have to have something new." There was going to be an appearance at the Hollywood Bowl.

She said, "Didn't you use to work for some fine store in Los Angeles?" I said, "Yes, I did." She said, "Could you as you go back down there--you'll be flying; we'll be going on a train, so you'll get there ahead of me, and we'll be staying at the Ambassador Hotel." She said, "Could you bring some clothes to me and some pretty hats?" She said, "I have to have a new dress and I have to have a new hat for the Hollywood Bowl appearance." I said, "I don't think it'll be any problem at all."

There was much meeting and conferring and going on in San Francisco in which I wasn't particularly involved. So, I hopped on that plane and got to Los Angeles as fast as I could and I grabbed one of my very dear friends, Marjorie Daniels, who at one time was on the southern division board with me. She used to work at Bullocks-Wilshire also. I said, "Margie, this is what we want to do." She said, "Oh, that'll be a ball!" So, she and I went to Bullocks-Wilshire and we went to I. Magnin and took a lot of clothes and hats, just on consignment. They were very gracious to us. They knew us and trusted us and so we just signed a piece of paper.

We took them in a car over to the Ambassador and as I recall the Eisenhowers were quartered on the third floor. It's not a high rise hotel. It wasn't at that time. The whole third floor was devoted to the Eisenhower party and absolutely no one was allowed on it unless you were properly identified and had business there. There were Secret Service guards and whatnot like that all around. Mrs. Howard had left word with the guards that Jean Fuller and a lady with her were to be allowed in immediately.

So, we went in and I went to Katherine's room first. She tried on all the clothes and selected a dress. Then, she got started on the hats and we had collected some rather pretty hats. So, she said,

Fuller: "Well girls, let's go in and show them to Mamie." She said, "I like this dress best and I like this hat best, but let's take them in to let Mamie see what she likes."

So we went two doors down the hall and Mamie was relaxing, was dressed in a Japanese kimono sort of thing and very comfortable after all this campaigning. So, Mamie tried on some of them too, but of course they were too big for her. She was much smaller than Katherine Howard. But she had fun and she'd try on the hats. Katherine should have been a ballet dancer. Even though she was a tall woman, she had just great grace. She was just tripping, traipsing all over the room, and we just had more fun, so we stayed there for about an hour and did nothing but girl talk--hats and dresses. Mamie and Katherine decided yes, those were the ones they liked the best, so we took all the rest of the stuff back to the stores and that was it. Oh yes, somebody got a bill for it eventually, I think. [Laughter]

Stein: I hope so!

Fuller: Katherine had them send the bill to her in Boston. We told them who she was and just to send her a bill.

Stein: Did the other hat story relate to the 1948 convention?

Fuller: Yes, it did. The other hat story did.

Stein: Yes, let's get that hat story down.

Fuller: Okay. Hats! Hats! [Laughter]

Stein: Yes. We'll call this section of the interview "Hats."

Fuller: Well, if I may interject something that doesn't belong anywhere in politics. When I was a very young girl working at Bullocks-Wilshire I worked on the first floor right in the center of what we called the accessory room. Some lady came in from the front and walked up to me and she said, "Where is Mrs. Hats?" I said, "Well, ma'am I don't believe we have anyone by that name working here." [Laughter] If she had said "Where are misses hats?" I'd have known she meant third floor. But we don't have anybody by that name working here. Hats always seem to get mixed up in my stories.

Well, anyhow. The 1948 convention in Philadelphia. Jessie Williamson was our national committeewoman and I believe was responsible for having me put on the platform committee. That meant I had to be there about eight days ahead of the opening of the convention. Of course,

Fuller: all the national committee people were there too. She had a very dear friend, Bernice Woodard, whom I had not known at all, but hotel rooms being a little pinched, Jessie arranged that Bernice and I would room together.

When Bernice arrived she arrived with umpteen boxes of hats, lovely hatboxes. At that time she worked for the main millinery company in the United States. She had gone up to New York to get hats for ladies of the convention, but they were primarily for Jessie Williamson and Mrs. Warren. So, there was hardly any room for any luggage because our room was so loaded down with hatboxes. But, every day, every party, every session of the convention, our beloved Jessie Williamson had on an exquisite hat, different from anybody else's because they were all--

[end side 1, tape 1]

[begin tape 1, side 2]

Stein: You were just saying that every day Jessie Williamson would--

Fuller: Have a beautiful hat. This was fun for me because we loved Jessie Williamson so and it was so nice to see her so beautifully dressed, outstandingly dressed as far as her hats were concerned. It was great fun. But, in turn, I developed from that time on a very wonderful friendship with Bernice Woodard who later became Mrs. Earl Behrens, the writer on the [San Francisco] Chronicle. Bernice is at the present time the director of the State Department Reception Center in San Francisco.

Stein: She will also emerge later in the story, won't she, when you were in the federal government?

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: She helped you again with hats, as I remember, or her connections helped you.

Fuller: Yes, her connections helped me with hats.

Stein: Just before we leave the subject of hats, let's get the story of your elephant hat at the 1948 convention.

Fuller: Oh, yes. The elephant hat was great fun. I had a dear friend who was active in the Republican party, though she didn't hold any office or anything. She was just a real good little worker. When she found out

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2★ Los Angeles Times



(AP Wirephoto)

CALIFORNIAN — Jean Fuller of Encino wore this elephant hat during floor demonstration for Gov. Warren at the convention early yesterday. Hat brought chuckles.

Fuller: I was going to the convention she said, "Jean, I'm going to make a hat for you to wear to that convention." I said, "All right, Marie, that'll be wonderful," not having the vaguest idea of what she was going to do.

A few days later she presented me with this hat made out of gray flannel--I suppose some old pair of pants of her husband's. But, it was an elephant head and it fitted me very nicely and had two tremendous ears which she had wired out and some short of shoe button type eyes. Then she had used ivory satin to make the tusks and they stood out very prominently.

Stein: It had a trunk too, didn't it?

Fuller: Yes, it had a trunk turned up with the tusks on each side. So, I kept that hat undercover.

Stein: You must have had a huge hatbox to carry it in, with those huge ears.

Fuller: Oh, yes. It was pretty good size. But anyway, I kept the hat undercover. I didn't want to wear it until just the right time.

The night of the nominating session I took the hat in the box with me to the convention, nobody realizing what it was I had with me. When Earl Warren was nominated there was one seconding speech and then they had a second seconding speech which was made by Irene Dunne. Irene Dunne was up on the podium and this was the rather early days of television. Of course, there were many news photographers there and Irene Dunne, being the celebrity that she is and a very beautiful woman, was making a very serious seconding speech.

In those days they allowed us to parade down the aisles, you know, and make a big whoop-de-do, and whistles and bells and everything. I notice in the conventions now they don't do that. It's a good idea not to, but it was fun anyway.

So, I got to the back of the room and there I put on my hat and paraded down the aisle, waving my Warren sign like mad, with this silly looking hat on. Well, as I got within about fifteen feet of the podium, the news photographers spotted it and they all switched from Irene Dunne down to Jean Fuller and this dumb looking hat. And Irene Dunne wasn't very happy with me. [Laughter]

Stein: You'd upstaged her.

Fuller: I'd upstaged her and I hadn't really meant to do that at all. But, it happened that way and it was one of those funny things that just hit. There were lots of silly hats there. I don't mean to sound overly impressed with myself, but I don't think anybody's hat stole the show like mine did that night. It was lots of fun.

Stein: Judging from the articles in your scrapbook, the newsmen were quite taken with it.

Fuller: Oh, yes, they loved it.

Stein: That picture appeared in quite a few papers.

Fuller: Quite a few of them.

Stein: Did you ever get to wear any of Bernice Woodard's hats, or was the elephant hat--

Fuller: The elephant hat was my own. No, I never did. I had taken three hats with me, and all during the platform committee work, both the agriculture committee and the platform--the drafting and the final one--I wore the same hat, in contrast to what Jessie Williamson did, because I had learned at conventions people can spot you across the room if they recognize your hat, your back may be toward them. So, I had a little green hat with a shush of green tulle that I wore.

Another hat story--Philadelphia, as you well know, can be very hot and humid and it was July. I had a lovely white hat, sort of a pancakey thing and it had a cocoa colored veil that was very stiff and starched that you could either tie under the chin or behind, and it was more becoming to me that way. I think the very first session I wore that hat to the convention, the full convention, and because it was being televised--and I believe the first national convention that was televised, because television was new at that time--you have absolutely no idea of the heat generated by the lights that they used. All around the balcony, every two feet, were enormous lights, in addition to Philadelphia being so hot and so humid anyway. I took out my compact to powder my nose and I saw what had happened to my hat. The heat and the humidity had just wilted it so it looked like a droopy mushroom. [Laughter] And so, I took it off.

Stein: You must have looked like you'd been caught in a rainstorm.

Fuller: I really did! It had just taken all the starch out of it. It was just blah! End of that story.

Some California Delegates

Stein: Getting back to the convention then. A couple of other names that I was interested in: Bernard Brennan was one of the delegates, wasn't he?

Fuller: Yes, he was. I think he was assistant co-chairman, wasn't he? Weren't he and Ed Shattuck co-chairmen?

Stein: My notes say that the vice-chairmen that year were Arthur Carlson and Ed Shattuck.

Fuller: Oh, were they?

Stein: Yes.

Fuller: Arthur Carlson being from Northern California and Ed Shattuck from Southern California.

Stein: Is that the way it worked; there were co-chairmen from the opposite ends of the state?

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: Bernard Brennan, my notes say, at that time was chairman of the Los Angeles Republican County Central Committee.

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: Did you know him?

Fuller: Oh, yes. Very, very fine man. Had bright red hair. Excellent lawyer.

Stein: The list of delegates shows that he was from the same district as Frank Doherty.

Fuller: I think he was from Glendale. Frank Doherty was my alternate.

Stein: Bernard Brennan was Joseph Scott's alternate.

Fuller: Oh. Joe Scott was a great old man. [Laughter] He was the leader of the Catholic group of Southern California.

Stein: I'm interested in Bernard Brennan because his name pops up again and again as time moves on. He later became very involved in supporting Nixon.

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: Was he from the more conservative end of the Republican party?

Fuller: I wouldn't consider him so. I'd consider him moderate.

Stein: Had he been a Warren supporter?

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: What about Ed Shattuck?

Fuller: Ed Shattuck was more of a liberal. In fact, he was one of the first persons I knew who got involved in the One World Movement, which I didn't particularly go along with.

Stein: What was that?

Fuller: I wouldn't want to be quoted because I don't know specifically. Was that before the United Nations development or after?

Stein: It's right about the time of the United Nations.

Fuller: Edward Shattuck was involved in trying to establish what they called the One World Movement. I considered it just sort of pie in the sky, just not at all practical. Shattuck, as far as Republican politics were concerned, he was just about like Earl Warren. In fact, he looked much like him. But he got off on this tangent that caused him to lose considerable popularity because he took up the cause, and it was to establish a world government. Whether we'll ever have a world government or not, I don't know, but the United Nations hasn't been very successful in keeping peace around the world.

But, Shattuck was a fine man. There again, he had been president of that Los Angeles High School Alumni Association that I spoke of the other day as being a very important organization in the Los Angeles-Southern California area. He was just a real good loyal party worker, an excellent speaker. I always loved to have him as a speaker, except I wouldn't let him speak on One World.

Stein: Anything else was okay, just not One World. He was, I gather, chairman of the Republican State Central Committee in 1948. I was reading in Fortnight magazine that there was evidently a bit of an intra-party squabble about seating him as chairman, that some of the Republicans objected.* I wondered if you knew about that.

*August 27, 1948, p. 14.

Fuller: I should have. I should've been there.

Stein: According to Fortnight, it was the independent oil producers who were still angry at Earl Warren for some of his highway bills. They objected to Shattuck because Warren had endorsed Shattuck.

Fuller: That could be. I do not recall it. As I recall, that meeting in Sacramento, I'm sure there was some opposition, but he won.

Stein: Another question I had about the 1948 convention: I know that at that point your work for the southern division was volunteer, but did you also pay your own way to the convention?

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: Did everybody do that?

Fuller: Oh, yes.

Stein: Was there ever any problem of someone who couldn't pay their way, and so they would be endorsed or supported by--

Fuller: Not to the national conventions. Now, to the Republican women's conventions the federation paid my transportation and room. I paid my own meals. The federation wanted to establish--or let's say disestablish--the idea that only wealthy women could take on these positions. We were not poor, but we weren't wealthy. The federation board voted to establish a precedent to send a president to federation conventions. She was their representative.

When there were conventions where other women would attend as delegates, many times their local clubs would hold a fund-raising thing or something like that to send them. Many of the women would say, "Oh, no bother, I'll take care of it myself." But there were some outstanding women who had done lots of good work for whom it would've been quite a strain. We didn't want to make it a rich woman's organization. In order to hold a position, she should be recognized for her talent and her work, not her pocketbook.

Stein: Your husband felt that this was a justifiable expense?

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: Did he ever object to your traveling around?

Fuller: No. In fact, he went along to the Philadelphia convention.

Stein: That's right. He was responsible for the orange juice.

Fuller: Yes. He made it a semi-business trip. One of the biggest markets for California oranges is the Chicago fruit exchange. So, he made it a semi-business trip. I mean his association paid his way to Chicago as a business trip and then he paid his own way to Philadelphia. Then, he went on down to Washington to visit friends and then back.

Stein: Is there anything else we should mention about the 1948 convention before we move on to 1950?

Fuller: I can't think of anything special. The other day you asked me about my relationship with the press. I think perhaps my attending that convention helped me more in establishing good relations with the press in Southern California than any other--as I say, they knew I'd been influential in assisting their press room for some refreshments. There were a lot of Southern California papers, not only the major papers but some of the smaller papers, who sent reporters to the convention and I got to know them quite well and they got to know me and it served a good purpose.

Stein: I'm sure the hat really helped. [Laughter]

Federation of Republican Women, 1950

Becoming Secretary, National Federation

Stein: Now, I think we can move along to 1950. In August of 1950 the National Federation of Republican Women held its convention in Cleveland.

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: You were among the delegates who went, according to my notes.

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: I listed some of the other delegates who went from California. I wondered if you want to comment on any of them, or mention what groups they came from?

Fuller: You know Marjorie Benedict. By this time she was national committee-woman. Now this Neva Nichols, [reading from interview outline] past president, southern division.

Stein: That may not be correct.

Fuller: I truly do not remember the name. Mary Jasper was at this time president of the California federation. Mary Jasper came from Humboldt County. Very, very fine old lady. Her husband had been publisher of the newspaper up in Eureka and at one time had run for Congress unsuccessfully, however. Ann Evans's name I remember but I do not remember where she was from. Maude Withers. Margaret Woolverton, very smart girl, from Redlands. Mildred Tinkam from Hollywood, Mrs. Frank Lindsay was from North Hollywood and Mrs. W.D. Chester of Corona. You see, by the number of members we had in our clubs, in our federation statewide, we were allowed so many delegates. I do not recall how many it was. This list may or may not be complete.

Stein: No, I don't think it is.

Fuller: Mary Jasper's way was paid because she was president of the federation at that time. The rest of us either got there on our own or our clubs may have supported us in some way. So, there was sort of a cross section of the whole state. Not all clubs had a nominee that they could suggest, for financial reasons really. But, they were all invited to name a delegate who could go one way or the other. So, it was pretty well open. It was just those who could manage it financially.

Your next question--Mrs. Fuller elected secretary. Well, the national federation, as at all other levels, has a nominating committee who meets pre-convention and selects a slate of proposed officers. They try to select them based on the size of the state federations and geographically. They wanted to give it a geographic spread.

At that time Mrs. [Joseph] Farrington was president. She was from Hawaii but her husband was a congressional representative--you know, without vote at that time--to Congress. Joe and Betty Farrington worked very hard on statehood for Hawaii. Nobody ever worked harder than those two people did. That was his devotion, achieve statehood for Hawaii. He passed away shortly after it was passed, too.

[Referring to interview outline] Mrs. [A. Burks] Summers of Rockville, Maryland, very active in the Maryland area, was the chairman, as you have noted. Mrs. C.D. Vernon from Iowa, there a Midwest geographic spread. This is the executive committee including Mrs.

Fuller: [Alex J.] Jex from Salt Lake and Helen Vernon from Iowa, Mrs. [John W.] Hunt from Oswego. Over here we list Mrs. Farrington, Washington D.C.; Mrs. [Harold] Achor of Anderson, Indiana; Mrs. Guilford Mayes, Kellogg, Idaho--she later became a national committeewoman; and Mrs. Walter McNab, a fine woman from New York. So, you see, they try to get a geographic spread.

Stein: How had your name been put up for secretary? Was it recommended by the California federation?

Fuller: Yes, by the California federation. Yes, each of the states sent a letter to make a recommendation for someone to go on the slate. At the national level, when I was there, there were no dissensions. They adopted the slate as presented.

Stein: What were your responsibilities as secretary?

Fuller: Well, really not very much. It was more titular, because Betty Farrington maintained--well, I should say the [Republican] National Committee gave the federation space in the national committee headquarters in Washington and we did hire an executive secretary who handled all the mailings and prepared the newsletters and did things like that. So, at the convention, because I do not take shorthand, I always had an assistant to take the minutes and do things like that and transcribe them when they became a part of the record. It was more titular than anything else.

Stein: Was this executive secretary the only paid staff of the federation?

Fuller: There might have been two. There was only one who came to the convention along with Betty Farrington to tend to all the mechanical details. But, in Washington D.C. there might have been two or three because they published that council publication and there's just a lot of work as you well know in an operation like that; somebody has got to use the typewriters and crank out the mimeograph machines. I think we probably borrowed some help now and then from the national committee itself. It was pretty well integrated right with the national committee operation.

Stein: It sounds like that was more so on the national level than the state or regional level. Is that true?

Fuller: Yes. Either at the southern division or at the state, we did not have paid secretarial staff. We had the facilities available to use the offices. The county and state central committee in Southern California

Fuller: were combined in one headquarters on South Olive Street. That's where the little Negro girl I told you of, Lena Washington, did such a tremendous amount of work. We had an arrangement that the county committee would allow us so much in funds for mimeographing and paper and things like that if we needed to get out letters and mailings. But, we never had a paid staff of our own.

Stein: I've noted here some of the issues that newspaper clippings in your scrapbooks indicated had been discussed at that federation convention. I don't know if any of them are worth commenting on.

Fuller: The first one, housecleaning of State Department. there was a great deal of conversation about that time, and historically speaking after I got into government I realized it got stronger and stronger. There was great feeling that within civil service in the State Department there were some rather subversive elements. Those who were closer to the Washington scene were more aware of it than I was, of course. It was a very prominent subject of discussion.

The Korean conflict, of course: why on earth did we get over there.

Always the same thing: [reading from interview outline] more recognition given to women in public office.

I don't remember what Truman's loyalty program was. [Reading from outline] Was Truman's loyalty program a failure?

Stein: I don't think the program amounted to very much. That's probably why you considered it a failure.

Fuller: And then, there were very strong emotional feelings about the manner in which he dismissed General [Douglas] MacArthur. Well, I think I felt as strongly at the same time. However, as we look back in time--and perhaps I'm influenced because I worked for the Army--Truman had no alternative but to dismiss him. But, it was a very emotional thing at that time.

Stein: That's interesting that you could see it from both perspectives.

Fuller: Yes, I wouldn't have seen it that way in this year, 1950, but now, he did the only thing he could do. After all, he was the commander-in-chief and MacArthur absolutely disobeyed him.

Fuller: Along this line of MacArthur--if I may digress just a little bit--one of the more interesting things that I did in Southern California and enjoyed it very much--you recall that after World War II there were many of our people who were captured and kept as prisoners of war in the Philippines. I happen to have a very, very dear friend, in fact practically a sister, who was interned there for a little over three years. So, I know many personal stories of what happened during those years.

At that time we brought over quite a few people who were Filipinos, but of American descent. Many of the soldiers who had gone out with MacArthur--the first General MacArthur in the Spanish-American War--had stayed and settled in the Philippines. So, we have many people in the Philippines who have American ancestry. They all were allowed to come to the United States.

After they had been here about five or six months, a perfectly lovely little lady called one day and asked to meet with me. She said she was Filipino-American. They had sort of settled in a little area of downtown Los Angeles, rather near what we called Japanese Town. They were all having a pretty hard time.

So, I went to call on her on a day it was convenient when I was going into town. Her name was Flora Bass. She was a very well educated little lady. She told me that all of the Filipinos who had come over, been repatriated, were very ardent supporters of General MacArthur and consequently, they all wanted to be registered Republicans as soon as possible and would I help her.

Well, of course, I was delighted, just absolutely delighted. So, I said, "Mrs. Bass, you get ten ladies together." At that time they had to be within the state of California one year to be voters. I said, "But regardless of whether they're registered voters or not, we can form a Republican women's club, and if you want the identity of having it Filipino-American women, that will be fine."

Well, she thought that was lovely, too, and no problem to get ten people together. So, about a week later, I went and I brought them a set of by-laws, our standard by-laws for little clubs. She must have had about twenty women there and she was very obviously the spokeswoman and the leader. Most of them are very, very quiet little ladies. I helped them get started and they were very proud--very poor, but very proud--because they brought practically nothing with them except their talents and she had a lot of talent.

Fuller: After about three or four months I was having lunch with her one day and she said, "You know, Mrs. Fuller, what we miss is a church of our own." Of course, they were all Catholic. I won't say, "of course," but they did happen to be all Catholic. She said, "We have been able to acquire an old firehouse up on a hill," a wonderful area of Los Angeles; I suppose it's torn down by now. She said, "We're going to be able to get this fire station and it has a steeple"--it was a very old fire station, wooden construction--"for our church and we have a parish priest assigned." "But," she said, "we have no bell." She said, "Our church just has to have a bell."

I said, "Well, what can we do to help you get a bell?" She said, "Well, in our old church over in the Philippines which was bombed, some of our friends have saved our old bell." So, she said, "Our bell is there, but we have no money to get it here. I was wondering if there was anything that you could suggest that would help us to get our bell."

I said, "Well Flora, I'll tell you what I'll do. I'll give a party and we'll raise money and we'll get your bell." It was going to cost about \$150. I had this house with this very large patio and it was in a lovely location in Encino. So, Flora said, "We will bring a lot of entertainment and we will bring our Filipino punch." It was a fruit punch sort of thing. She said, "All you need to do is have the cookies. We will have everything else."

Well, I called everybody I could think of in the San Fernando Valley at that time and told them we were going to have this Sunday afternoon Filipino party. It was to raise money. We were going to pass the hat. They may as well know it right now what the cause was for.

Well, Flora brought out about twenty-five dancers and I had about four hundred people there. They put on the most beautiful show. These lovely mestizo dresses, they're made of piña cloth where the sleeves go up like so. They did their native dances which were simply beautiful. You know, the bamboo dance where two people click, click, click, click [with long bamboo poles] and the dancers dance in between and why they don't get their legs cut off I'll never know. Then, there's another one where a girl dances with a glass of wine on her head and she dances so beautifully to the music. She leans way back, practically a backbend, and the wine never spills. It was a perfectly gorgeous party as far as the entertainment was concerned. Everyone who came enjoyed themselves tremendously.

Fuller: Well, we needed \$150 to get the bell over, a big bronze bell. We raised about \$450 and so, we gave it to them. Well, they were so delighted.

Then later on when they got their little church established the men painted it. They had nothing but folding chairs and they were able to buy some little extra things with the money we had raised for them.

Then, they decided they would have a festival and Mrs. Fuller was to be the guest of honor. It was delightful. You've seen pictures and perhaps participated in Mexican festivals, the breaking of the piñata and all that sort of thing. Well, they do all sorts of things like that and lots of crepe paper flowers and what not. But the thing that struck me so much in the little church, the chairs are all lined up on one side and the other side. The women all sit over here [on one side] and the men all sit over here [on the other side] and they never mix. It's quite interesting. But, of course, I being an Americana, I went over to the men and talked to them. Oh, they're very shy and bashful, but very nice. I made so many friends in the Philippine community. I just loved them.

After they had been here for one year I had to register our voters there immediately. They stuck together for a long time. I don't know if they still are. The Filipinos I met were quite talented people. Some of them had been engineers for the Standard Oil Company over there and one of them, a man, had been in motion pictures. He was like the Rudolph Valentino of the Philippine motion picture industry. So, they had lots and lots of talent. They've scattered. This Flora Bass that I spoke of who was the originator of it, she later wrote a book on dolls. She did a lot of research on dolls.

Their fathers had all been well educated men. Consequently, they were. They've spread now around the country. That was one of the most fun things I did because--an ethnic group, I guess we should call them. But their devotion to the Republican party was because of MacArthur. All right, back to the Cleveland convention.

Stein: Is there anything more we need to mention about that convention?

Fuller: We've covered everything.

Elected President, California Federation

Stein: In November the California federation had its convention in Long Beach. There again, the nominating committee had submitted a slate of officers and you had been nominated as president.

Fuller: [Reading from interview outline] "Was that the usual procedure?" Yes, a nominating committee presented a slate of officers.

Stein: Then if anybody wanted to--

Fuller: Nominate from the floor.

Stein: They could do that?

Fuller: They could. Mrs. Walton, Helen Walton, and a slate to go with her, was nominated from the floor.

Stein: Who nominated her? Was it her--

Fuller: I do not recall. No, you can't nominate yourself. It has to be--

Stein: I was wondering if it was her Beverly Hills group.

Fuller: Yes, probably so. Someone made the nomination and described Mrs. Walton. She was a very shrewd person. [Reading from outline] "What were your own reactions to her support of McCarthy?" Absolutely--I should preface the whole thing by saying I could not stand Senator [Joseph] McCarthy. Never could.

Stein: What was it that you couldn't stand about him?

Fuller: Well, first of all I guess I should say I agreed with him. He was very anti-Communist. But, as a man--Mildred Younger could confirm this too--he was an absolute boor! He was sent by the national committee to come out to some meeting. I know it was held at one of the Hollywood hotels. He was due to arrive to be our luncheon speaker at 12 o'clock. He showed up at 3 o'clock and all sweat and perspiry and rather smelled of Scotch. I just plain didn't like the man.

Mrs. Walton and her followers or group were very high on McCarthy and they were terribly embarrassed because it was a concession that we got him out as a speaker, concession to her and others of her side

Fuller: of the fence. So, I think they were a little embarrassed about the whole thing. [Referring to outline] At the convention--I have not read the press account recently.*

Stein: Well, that's it essentially. There wasn't much.

Fuller: No, I think this is rather biased reporting.

Stein: The first little paragraph came out of a letter to the editor and it was obviously from somebody on Mrs. Walton's side of the picture.

Fuller: Yes, it was not true. We did bring in--we brought them in, they came in--delegates came from every little club in Southern California where I had been out to meet with them and talk with them or Gladys O'Donnell had been out to meet with them and talk with them or perhaps Mrs. Van de Water. But, they'd all had personal contact with those of us in the convention who were either officers or running for office. What Mrs. Walton's group--

[end side 2, tape 1]

[begin tape 2, side 1]

Stein: You were saying what Mrs. Walton accused you of.

Fuller: Yes, Mrs. Walton and her followers accused us of hiring buses and bringing people in off of the street, which was absolutely untrue. What they did not realize was that a lot of groundwork had been laid

*An undated clipping in Mrs. Fuller's scrapbook of a letter to the editor in the Valley Times (approximate date: Nov. 16, 1950) charged that registration of convention delegates, according to the convention program voted on by the delegates, was to close at 10:00 a.m. the morning of the election, with balloting at 11:00 a.m. Delegates came in by the dozens the day of the election, registering up to 12:25, still registering while balloting was being done. The Los Angeles Evening Herald and Express, 11/16/50, reported that the Northern California delegates threatened to withdraw because they objected to tactics being used by some supporters of the candidates.

Fuller: in personal contacts with clubs and there had been new clubs organized, either by myself or some of our other board members, all over Southern California in every little town.

By-laws provided that if you had ten women who were registered Republicans and paid their dues they were entitled to send a delegate. Many of these little clubs had grown and many of them got together, say out in San Bernardino County, and they did hire a bus. They all came to the convention together. There were busloads of people that came. But, they accused me of personally hiring buses to bring people in off the street, as it was called.

Stein: So that they could vote for you.

Fuller: So they could vote for me. Well, it was completely untrue. [Reading from outline] "Northern California delegates threatened to withdraw." I have no recollection of that at all. If they threatened to withdraw it was not out in the open or where I heard them.

Stein: Do you remember what Mrs. Walton did, how she managed her campaign? Did she raise objections during the voting or how did she make her displeasure felt?

Fuller: No, not during the voting. This was held in Long Beach. Long Beach had a very large club with some very competent women in it. The voting itself went along very smoothly. It was just the snide and inaccurate things that were said in the hallways in between times that were difficult. They took their defeat with little grace.

Stein: Did you have any trouble with them after that?

Fuller: Yes, the same group when we had a convention in Santa Barbara.

Stein: That may have been the '52 convention.

Fuller: Yes. They clung together. I hope we could find somewhere a word that would describe what I earlier called the ultra, ultra, ultra conservatives or the pre-John Birchers or the McCarthyites. There should be a nice ladylike word, but I can't think of it. I don't know what to use. They were a smaller, very vocal minority.

Stein: Were any of these women active in Pro-America?

Fuller: Yes, there was a great duplication. Pro-America was not a large organization, but I would say a lot of them were in Pro-America.

- Stein: Did many of them later go on to join the John Birch Society, do you know?
- Fuller: Not personal knowledge. I would suspect they did, but I do not know.
- Stein: At the same convention these other officers were elected.* Do any of them need comment?
- Fuller: Well, they're all very, very nice women. There again, you see, we're trying to get a geographical spread north and south. Mrs. George Clever from Tracy was proposed by the central division as an officer and we weren't too happy about that, but we felt it would be a wise thing to have her on our slate--or the nominating committee felt it would be good to have her on the slate--because she had leanings towards this other group at times. We thought she would have more influence in making them be more amenable.
- Stein: Sort of a unifying gesture.
- Fuller: Yes, but it didn't quite work out that way. She did her job well. She did her job well, but she did not help us unify things. The rest of them were just solid as a rock.

The 1948 California Federation Election

- Stein: We've already commented on Mary Jasper whom you succeeded.
- Fuller: We elected Mary Jasper in Santa Barbara. That must have been '48, because we had a real wild fight there.
- Stein: What was the story there?

*Other officers elected:

Mrs. Gladys Penland (Berkeley - northern vice-president
 Mrs. Paul Ashley (Fresno) - central vice-president
 Mrs. Gladys O'Donnell (Long Beach) - southern vice-president
 Mrs. Verda E. Neel (Sacramento) - recording secretary
 Mrs. George Clever (Tracy) - financial secretary
 Mrs. Ethel Tibbot (Santa Cruz) - treasurer

Fuller: Mrs. [Barbara] Whittaker was president of the federation and she was of the Mrs. Walton variety. Of course, being the president and holding it in her hometown of Santa Barbara, she had a good deal of strength there. A nominating committee presented a slate of officers who were completely to her liking and I do not recall their names.

Our good friend Lelia Baeskins from Orange County was on that nominating committee, but she did not agree with the slate at all. So, when the committee report was given with their slate of officers, she rose to demand the privilege of a minority report and presented a different slate of officers.

Mary Jasper, who had been president of the northern division of Republican women, was kind of late. At the time the nominations were made Lelia Baeskins nominated Mary Jasper as president and Jean Fuller as vice-president and I forget the rest of the slate. They made a great issue of the fact that Mrs. Jasper wasn't in the hall. Lelia and I were wringing our hands because we knew that Mary was coming in on the train--well, she was just about a day late.

I went scurrying down and when the nominations were made Mrs. Whittaker on the floor said, "Well, Mrs. Jasper is not even here. We do not know if she will accept it." And I very boldly and loudly rose and said, "Mary Jasper will be here within a few minutes and I accept in her name."

I got in my car and I tore down to the train, pulled her off the train--poor woman, she didn't know what was happening--and I said, "Mary, we've just nominated you for president, and get up there and say yes, you'll take it!" She said, "Oh, well of course. I fully expected to. It's just the train was late, you know," that sort of thing.

And, we won. The slate that the nominating committee had put up was defeated. It was just about the same percentage as that meeting that was held in Long Beach. The division was just about the same, but we did win it.

Stein: It sounds, then, as though when Mrs. Whittaker was in charge that it was actually a minority group that held control.

Fuller: Yes, and you see she was the president, so she packed the board with her kind of people. I'll be the first to admit that when Mary Jasper succeeded to the presidency and I as her vice-president we packed the board with our kind of people. That's just politics. You do it. You put the people on that you can depend on.

Stein: Had that indicated a shift that had been happening in the membership of the organization?

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: At one time had the organization been much more ultra, ultra, ultra?

Fuller: Yes. But, you see by the groundwork that we had laid in organizing so many new clubs--and the state federation could not deny them a charter if they had accepted the standard by-laws and had paid their dues and so on and so forth. We'd been organizing these little clubs in every little hamlet we could find. So, that's when we began to bring in the votes.

Stein: This was also the young blood that you've spoken about before.

Fuller: Yes. Yes, I must say this for the older women, now that I'm of the age I am. They were so staunch and so true.

There's a woman whose name I have not seen on here at all. Her name is Eva Jahn. She lived in Riverside and she was absolutely true blue. She was in her sixties. The men of the party organization just adored her. She had great influence and everybody in Riverside County knew her. She had great influence. This Gladys Penland from Berkeley was the same kind of a woman, and Gladys O'Donnell from Long Beach.

So, we were just going after grassroots voters and not the wealthy women like Mrs. Whittaker and Mrs. Walton and the Pro-America women who were all pretty wealthy women. That was why we were able to bring new life into the federation. It gave it much more strength.

Stein: You were succeeded in the southern division by Mrs. Rachel Wylie.

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: Was she also from--

Fuller: She was from San Diego.

Stein: Was she from your group?

Fuller: She was, yes. I had put her on the board, appointed her to the board in some capacity I do not recall. [Referring to interview outline] Mrs. [Ray] Grobaty* was from Long Beach--sweet, sweet woman.

*Elected vice-president of the Southern Division, California Federation of Republican Women, 1950.

Party Affiliation and Cross-Filing

Stein: I've made a note here of a couple of the issues that were debated at that convention. One was designation of party affiliation for candidates on the primary ballot. The other was opposition to cross-filing. The first one was approved and on the second one, the resolution was tabled.

Fuller: Was tabled, yes. Those of us who were practical politicians realized the advantages of cross-filing and so we did get it tabled. However, we did feel that when you cross-filed, the party designation should have been behind the name. That was all right. It would've weakened the cross-filing a little, but it wouldn't have done away with it. Of course, that's all a matter of history now. Cross-filing is gone. I think it's too bad.

Stein: Were the main advantages of cross-filing financial, that you avoided a second election?

Fuller: Yes, financial, number one. Secondly, just being able to get on with the job and not having to run another campaign. This California business of having your primaries in June and your finals in November takes five months, six months, out of a man's or woman's work as a public official. So, you're just constantly campaigning.

I would be all in favor of having our primaries in September, but, of course, this is not practical because of the national conventions. But, I would certainly like to push them together a little closer.

We've been subjected for one full year now to campaigning and I'm just sick to death of listening to it and I'm one who will listen to it more than most people will. I know a lot of people who are my friends here who say, "Oh, I turn that darn thing off, turn it on and turn it off. There's too much of it." I don't know whether these upcoming debates are going to do any good or not, but I'm afraid an awful lot of people are not going to sit still for ninety minutes to hear debates.*

*Before the November 1976 elections, President Gerald Ford and Democratic challenger Jimmy Carter held a series of three ninety-minute debates.

The Issue of Pre-Primary Endorsements

Stein: I understand that during your term of office as president of the California federation there was some sort of controversy over the by-laws prohibiting pre-primary endorsement of candidates.

Fuller: There was discussion--I wouldn't say controversy--there was discussion over the plight of many women who were presidents of their local clubs, who were caught in a bind because if they wanted to work hard for a congressional candidate and there was another Republican filed with him--or it would be true in an assembly race--they were prohibited by our by-laws from making any pre-primary endorsement. It worked to my disadvantage because in 1952 Eisenhower was a candidate for president, but there was a man down in the Bakersfield area who filed another slate to go to the national convention.

Stein: Was that Thomas Werdel?

Fuller: Yes. Couldn't think of it. Because I was president of the state federation--I wanted very much to go on the Eisenhower delegation, very, very much to--but as a matter of principle I just couldn't. If I said, "The by-laws do not affect me. I am going on as an individual," I could've done it, I could've gotten away with it, but as a matter of principle I would not.

So, I had to say to Bernie Brennan, "Dear Bernie, I am so sorry. The federation by-laws just prohibit my doing a pre-primary [endorsement]. He twisted my arm and twisted my arm to say, "Jean, go on as an individual. We will never list you as the president of the federation." I said, "I can't help it Bernie. I tell the women that they must do it and so I must do it."

Stein: Have there been instances of any of these local leaders endorsing individuals?

Fuller: Yes, some of them had done it. Some of them had done it. They would say, "I am an individual and I am going to do it."

Stein: Had you laid down the law?

Fuller: I had just pointed out to them that our by-laws prohibited it and I was sorry that it was that way, but we had to be fair. I sacrificed being a delegate to the Eisenhower convention because of that principle and it killed me. It just killed me! But all I--

Stein: That explains what happened, because that's a question I was going to ask when we got to 1952.

Fuller: That's why I didn't go on the delegation. I went to the convention but I--

Stein: I see, but that's why you weren't a delegate.

Fuller: I was given red carpet treatment by all the people but I sat back in the visitors' section and not in the delegation. Oooh, that hurt me! We knew that Eisenhower was going to beat Werdel hands down. There again, the Mrs. Whittakers, Mrs. Waltons, and Mrs. Ben Parks were all for Werdel and they had really shot arrows at me then.

1950 Senatorial Campaign: Richard Nixon versus Helen Gahagan Douglas

Women for Nixon

Stein: I'd like to talk now about the senatorial campaign of 1950, Nixon versus Helen Gahagan Douglas. Then next time we can come back to the '52 campaign. The clippings in your scrapbook said that you were on the advisory committee of Women for Nixon.

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: Was this an organization that was separate from the Republican party and the federation?

Fuller: Yes. Yes, this was just a committee--they always set up a committee for a particular candidate, and usually there's much duplication on those committees of people who are on the state or the county central committee or who are in the federation or something or other like that.

There, you see, Nixon was the Republican candidate and had no opposition in the primary. You have later listed somewhere the backers of Mr. Nixon.* They were really the nucleus of the Nixon campaign. But, they recognized the value of hundreds or thousands of

*See page 100a.

From Interview Outline

D. Campaign funding

What sources?

In the primary, Manchester Boddy ran against HGD. His supporters were said to be conservative press, oil men. Did this interfere at all with the sources of funds for Nixon?

E. People active in campaign

Bernard Brennan - campaign manager

Murray Chotiner

Frank Jorgensen

Jack Drown - advance man. His wife and Pat Nixon were old school friends.

Roy Day

Financial contributors:

Leigh Battson

Jes Dart

Mendel Silberberg

Frank Doherty

Dean Witter

Neil Petrie

Willard Kieth

Charles Thomas - later Secretary of Navy

Keith Spalding

Harold Morton

Carl Miller

F. Other Republicans to comment on:

Republican national committee chairman: Guy George Gabrielson

Mrs. Rose Mayes - assistant chairman of Republican National Committee

Winifred T. Noyes. Chairman, county central committee.

Fuller: women and the efforts they could put in. They were the strategy committee, but then they would always set up a women's committee. Valley Knudsen, Val Knudsen, bless her heart, chaired it. She was just absolutely unbeatable as a woman. Tom and Valley Knudsen were just towers of strength in the Los Angeles area, Knudsen Creamery Company.

Stein: I was going to ask if they were Knudsen Dairy people.

Fuller: So, it was a rather large committee. Oh, I won't say we did a lot. We did a lot individually, but we didn't meet too frequently. It was one of those things: your name was publicized and it was supposed to lend some enhancement to the whole committee. Then, you go into your own district and work as much as you can. Of course, there again, my work was influencing the women to get out the vote for Nixon and do anything they could--door to door fund-raising, anything else.

[Reading from interview outline] "What could they [women] do that men couldn't do?" They could work--men were professional men who had their jobs. They can't go out and do much door to door work. But, men are awfully good at fund-raising and, of course, there are some women who are extremely good at fund-raising too, but they're a special breed of women who are usually rather wealthy women themselves and can raise some pretty sizeable funds. So, they were on the committee too.

Stein: Who chose the committee? Do you know?

Fuller: Where's your list of Nixon supporters?

Stein: Bernard Brennan and Murray Chotiner and Frank Jorgensen?

Fuller: I would say that Bernie Brennan and Murray and Frank Jorgensen and Roy Day probably had the widest knowledge of the women who would be a credit to the committee. Now, Jack Drown was a personal friend of Nixon's and he didn't know the party structure or the party people. Fine man. I liked him but he hadn't been active in party structure. He was just devoted to Nixon.

Stein: One of the women's names I came across was Cecil Kenyon.

Fuller: Oh, yes. Cecil Kenyon, let's see. She was always with me. She was a vice-president, wasn't she, of the southern division, or was she a vice-president of the state federation? Cecil Kenyon was from San Marino.

Stein: She later became president of the southern division in '55.

Fuller: Just a pillar of strength and good thoughts. Her husband--we called him Spike; I'm sure he had a different name--was a vice-president of Southern California Edison Company. He was a labor negotiator too. Sweet man. Cecil Kenyon was always on my board in some capacity or another and she traveled with me a lot.

The San Marino Republican Women's Club was a very large club. I guess, in size, Long Beach, Glendale, and then San Marino, and then my San Fernando Valley club were the largest clubs. She had a great deal of influence with a lot of women.

[Reading from interview outline] "Women's Committee for Good Government," what the dickens is that?

Stein: This is what it is.* I don't know if you want to read one more piece of paper but, this is evidently an ad that they placed in the Los Angeles Daily News and they all signed their names, or some of them did, on the bottom there. This is an ad for Nixon. They're attacking Douglas. None of those names rang a bell with me. I wondered if they did with you.

Fuller: Sybil Burke sounds familiar. Mrs. [William] Ziegler, later Judge Ziegler. Mrs. [Irene] Dockweiler. Mrs. Charles Willard. They were very influential, but never had anything to do with party politics. They were so-called "Bigs," but just not political type women. I think whoever developed this did it very purposely not to put any political women in it. See? They were not identified with politics in any way that I--

Stein: So, they would be sort of non-partisan or just women who were concerned with--

Fuller: Yes. Yes, and they might have been Democrats.

Issues in the Campaign

Fuller: This is interesting--[reading from outline] "Issues in the campaign: tidelands oil." Yes, that always was an issue. [Further reading from outline] "Keeping Birmingham Hospital open: Nixon for, Douglas against." I worked as a volunteer at Birmingham Hospital.

*See page 102a.

FACTS Every Voter Should Know

The VOTING RECORD OF

Congresswoman

HELEN GANAGAN DOUGLAS

1. During the six years she has been a member of the House of Representatives, Congresswoman Douglas has introduced more than 70 general bills and resolutions—NONE of which were enacted into law.
2. On March 23, 1950, Mrs. Douglas was one of only 12 members of the House of Representatives, including the notorious extreme radical Vito Marcantonio of New York City, who voted against an appropriation of \$150,000 for the Administration-sponsored Un-American Activities Committee. It passed 348 to 12. On three other similar bills, she voted with Marcantonio in the same way.
3. On May 9, 1947, Mrs. Douglas voted against aid to Greece and aid to Turkey in the face of threatened invasion of those countries by Communist forces. This was a vote against the Truman Doctrine.

(Taken from the Congressional Record and the Congressional Quarterly)



RUNNING ON HER RECORD?

4. Mrs. Douglas was counted "present on only 29 of the 54 roll calls during the 2nd Session of the 81st Congress, January 3 to March 31, 1950." This is the worst attendance record of any of the 23 Congressmen from California.

Only 17 of the 435 Members of Congress from the entire United States had as bad an attendance record as Mrs. Douglas.

WOMEN'S COMMITTEE FOR GOOD GOVERNMENT

Mrs. Mattison Boyd Jones, Chairman

Mattison Boyd Jones
Paxton Lytle
Stuart S. Goode
John S. Sanders, Sr.
Mary Durham
Ella Ramirez
Mildred E. Moore
Cecilia Stumbaugh

Mrs. Marjorie Reeves
Mrs. Gabrielle Adams
Mrs. Kathleen Speckel
Mrs. Joseph D. Poole
Mrs. George Saylor
Mrs. Eugene Jansen
Mrs. Florence Parker
Mrs. Jerry Evans
Mrs. Sally Lorraine

Mrs. Patricia Zeman
Mrs. Sybil Burke
Mrs. Marion Lynn
Mrs. Catharine Eldridge
Mrs. Fritzi Von Koughnet
Mrs. Marilou Price
Mrs. Tom Scully
Mrs. Marguerite James
Mrs. T. A. Burnett

Mrs. William W. Ziegler
Mrs. Elizabeth Davenport
Mrs. Anna Halpin
Mrs. J. B. Weinstock
Mrs. Irene Dockweiler
Mrs. Charles Willard
Mrs. Louis Torrance
Mrs. Gilbert Rackerby

Stein: I remember that.

Fuller: I had forgotten that there was controversy over that. It should have been kept open longer than it was.

Stein: Why was it closed?

Fuller: It was a temporary hospital, an Army hospital, reception hospital for South Pacific casualties. It was never set up as a permanent hospital and that's true, but there was no other facility in the Southern California area to send them to.

The Navy had a hospital at Corona and they had one at Long Beach and Fort MacArthur had a very small hospital. It was a small post. So, there was need for the hospital to go on for at least a few years until these men either recuperated or could be transferred to hospitals near their own homes.

It was awfully hot working in that hospital. You know these temporary building things that the Army builds and no air conditioning and oh gracious, it was warm.

But, anyway, it should have been kept longer than it was. I think it was kept open longer than what Douglas would have been for.

[Reading from outline] "Communism: how did you feel about how this issue was handled?"

Stein: It was an enormous issue in the campaign.

Fuller: Yes, it was an enormous issue in the campaign. Mrs. Douglas had been so closely aligned with the left fringes. Around the Hollywood area there were so many people who--we couldn't say they were communists--but they were on the Red fringe. So--well, our favorite term was a "pinko." It was a very hot issue and how did I feel about how this issue was handled? Well, I think it was handled as well as could be. McCarthy made one appearance in Los Angeles for Nixon. That's when I said he was--

Stein: That's the time that he came late, smelling of liquor.

Fuller: He was useless! He didn't do Nixon any good. Well, maybe he did with some people. Maybe the publicity in the paper, the fact that he came out, because there were a lot of ardent followers of McCarthy at that time. I just didn't happen to be one.

Stein: I guess one of the reasons I raised this question of how you felt about how the issue was handled was that now, of course, in looking back on it with all the subsequent things that have happened to Nixon, there's been a lot of discussion about some of the campaign strategies in that 1950 campaign. A number of people have been very critical of Nixon feeling that he overdid it, especially on the issue of comparing Helen Douglas' record to Vito Marcantonio's. I think that really we need some perspective on the record from that period.

Fuller: I did not disagree with the strategy at that time. Nixon won, and so it more or less proves that the strategy was right at that time. It might not be the right strategy at this time. But, at that time I think the feelings were very high. Southern California, as I say-- when I say the Hollywood area, it slopped over into San Fernando Valley so much because we had several motion picture studios out there.

There were several writers, people in the industry, who had been swayed to the greatness of communism and how much better it would work than our type of government. It was a hot issue in those days and it had great appeal.

Campaign Strategies

Stein: There were several stories--and I have no idea if they're true or not-- that have emerged about that campaign. One of them is that toward the very end of the campaign there were telephone calls to people all over California in which the caller would simply say, "Did you know that Helen Gahagan Douglas is a Communist?"

Fuller: I have absolutely no knowledge. I have never seen that statement any place before. I have never heard of it before. It could have happened, but I don't know a thing about that.

Stein: In a similar vein there's the story that leaflets were air dropped in Southern California promising people that they would get a silver creamer and sugar bowl if they answered the telephone saying, "Vote for Nixon."

Fuller: It's just a story out of the blue as far as I'm concerned. I never heard of it. I'd have gone and gotten a silver creamer and sugar bowl if they'd done such a thing. [Laughter]

Stein: That's a pretty cheap price to pay for a sugar and creamer set.

Fuller: But, I never heard of it. It could have happened.

Stein: There was something else called the pink sheet. I wondered if you were familiar at all with that. That was a leaflet that came out that compared Mrs. Douglas's voting with Vito Marcantonio's.

Fuller: I did not see it.

Stein: It was alleged to have been printed on pink paper.

Fuller: Probably was. That's sounds like--poor man's dead now, I shouldn't say it. [Laughter] That sounds like something Murray Chotiner would have thought up.

Murray Chotiner was a very controversial figure in Southern California and, of course, he and I always got along fine. But, he could dream up the most devious plots and strategies. He had a mind that was brilliant, but he did some things that were wrong. [Laughter] But, that sounds like one of his.

But, you see, Murray Chotiner knew that the Republican federation women were all behind Nixon, so he didn't pay much attention to us. If he dropped those sheets about the sugar and creamer, he probably did it over Watts or over Fairfax Avenue or someplace like that where the registration was completely different than our registration. [Laughter]

I remember--and this is a little later on [1954] when I was working for Senator [Tom] Kuchel in his campaign--it was Murray who dreamed up the idea of putting a sufficient quantity of the campaign literature that was to go to into the Fairfax area written in Yiddish, because there are many people who live in the Fairfax area who really can read very little English. It's the concentrated Jewish area of Los Angeles. So, we did it.

Murray was very smart. We wanted to hit that vote, so we put it in their language. We want to hit the Mexican vote--we didn't know the word Chicano then--you want to hit the Mexican vote, you write it in Spanish over here, which is a very practical thing to do.

Stein: In fact, that was way ahead of its time, because they're just beginning to make that an official policy now.

Fuller: Yes. But, he did dream up some pretty wild things sometimes, but I gave him a lot of credit. [Laughter]

Stein: Well, now, speaking of Murray Chotiner, one of the stories about him is that he had a plan to try to get Earl Warren to endorse Nixon since Warren had a longstanding policy of running alone and not endorsing anybody. I've read that Chotiner actually told the story himself.*

What he did was to work it through Helen Gahagan Douglas. He thought that if he could get Mrs. Douglas formally to endorse Jimmy Roosevelt, who was running for governor on the Democratic ticket, that that would force Warren's hand and force Warren to endorse Nixon. He did this by sending Joe Holt to all of Mrs. Douglas's meetings to get up and ask her at every single meeting who she would endorse for governor. Evidently, the story goes, she managed to not answer it until very close to the end of the campaign when her patience broke and she finally said something about, of course, she would vote for Roosevelt.

Chotiner, again according to the story, called a reporter traveling with the Warren campaign and got the reporter to ask Warren what his reaction was. Warren finally replied with an answer which maintained as much aloofness as he could. He finally said that he still intended to keep his campaigning independent from everybody else's, but that in view of Mrs. Douglas's statement, he said, "I might ask her how she expects I will vote when I mark my ballot for U.S. Senator on Tuesday."

Chotiner seized on this as being better than nothing and proceeded to tell the press that Earl Warren intended to mark his ballot for Dick Nixon. I wondered if you were familiar with that story.

Fuller: I'm not familiar with the story, but I don't doubt one word of it, and particularly his sending Joe Holt. [Laughter] Joe Holt! Oh, he was a rambunctious young man. He was not very tall. He was taller than Mickey Rooney, but he kind of looked like Mickey Rooney. He was just plain darned rambunctious. That's all I can say. And if Chotiner sent him out to do it--

Stein: Was he with the Young Republicans at the time?

Fuller: Yes.

*See, for example, Leo Katcher, Earl Warren: A Political Biography (New York, 1967), pp. 256-257, 260-262.

Stein: Now, there has also been talk in the '50 campaign of something called the Flying Squadron. Were you familiar with that?

Fuller: No. It sounds familiar, but I--

Stein: It sounded like it was groups of volunteer women.

Fuller: What would they do, follow Helen Gahagan around?

Stein: No, I think they were just neighborhood precinct workers.

Fuller: I don't know about it.

Campaign Contributors

Stein: One of the things I wondered about in the '50 campaign is Manchester Boddy. In the Democratic primary Boddy ran against Helen Gahagan Douglas. He was from Southern California and he was--

Fuller: A publisher.

Stein: A publisher and he was a fairly conservative Democrat.

Fuller: Right.

Stein: According to the books I read, his support came, at least in part, from the conservative press and from some of the oil people. I wondered about that, because I know that Nixon also got support from those same sources. I wondered if there was a split here, if Boddy funding--

Fuller: Well, you would find that the oil people who are big money men--and there were not the constraints against contributions that there are now--they were inclined to support a candidate in both parties. They would pick out the conservative candidate of either party.

Stein: So, they'd have themselves covered no matter what.

Fuller: Yes. Manchester Boddy, I had a great deal of respect for him. He had a strange paper, but I subscribed to it because I liked to read it. It was completely different than the Times or the Examiner. In many

Fuller: businesses, in addition to the oil business--we must be realistic--they do that all the time. They contribute to both sides and then which ever one wins, why, "See, I'm you're supporter."

Well, this "financial contributors," [list on interview outline, see p. 100a] I'm sure is only a small list of them.

Stein: Yes, it is. It's not supposed to be definitive.

Fuller: These are all very, very important men. Harold Morton was a real big oil man. This Frank Doherty, mentioned here, he was the man I said was my mentor and advisor. At the convention he was my alternate in '48 and I just adored Uncle Frank. He was so helpful to me.

[end side 1, tape 2]

[begin tape 2, side 2]

Stein: I think you mentioned earlier that Charlie Thomas later went on to become secretary of the Navy.

Fuller: Yes, that was in the Eisenhower administration. Charlie Thomas was an interesting man. He had been president of Foreman and Clark, a large men's clothing chain, and a very successful businessman. He was originally an orphan boy and became very prominent through his business astuteness. He became secretary of the Navy.

After that he became president of Trans World Airlines--the Howard Hughes organization. Of course, there had been such a turnover in the presidencies of the TWA because of Mr. Hughes being a very difficult man to work with. I was talking to him one day after he had taken that position and I said, "Charlie, why did you get mixed up with Howard Hughes? You know, the mortality rate is very high." He said, "Well, Jean, this is the way I figure it. The man owns it outright practically, he's the boss, and I'll run it the way he wants it. Now, the first day I don't do it the way he wants it, I expect to go out." I guess Charlie was president of it about two years.

Then he became chairman of the board of the Irvine Company which at one time owned half of Orange County. I guess they still own a good third of it. I don't know if you've been down there, but there's a big industrial commercial complex down in Orange County now, a tremendous thing that they developed there.

Prominent Republicans

Stein: I just wondered if you wanted to comment on any of these other Republicans who were prominent in that period, not necessarily in that campaign. The Republican National Committee chairman was Guy George Gabrielson.

Fuller: I didn't know him personally. He came out--I think I showed you a picture of him when he was speaking to us at a table. He was a very nice man and a competent chairman. Rose Mayes was the assistant chairman. She was the lady from Idaho listed on an earlier page [of interview outline] under her married name [Mrs. Guilford Mayes]. She was a very nice woman.

Now let's see, she succeeded Bertha Adkins. No, no, she did not. Bertha Adkins succeeded Rose Mayes. Then, who was our late state treasurer who passed away, the woman?

Stein: Ivy Baker Priest?

Fuller: Yes, Ivy Baker Priest succeeded Bertha Adkins. They were all very nice women. Rose Mayes was probably the least flamboyant. That's not quite the word. She wouldn't attract attention in a crowd like Bertha Adkins did or Ivy Baker Priest. Ivy Baker Priest and Bertha Adkins were very dynamic women and very attractive. The name Winifred Noyes means something but I can't find it.

[end side 2, tape 2]

The 1950 Edward Shattuck Campaign

[Interview 4, 17 September 1976]

[begin tape 1, side 1]

Stein: Before we get into 1951 there was one leftover question I had from 1950, which was if you were involved at all in Ed Shattuck's campaign for attorney general in that year.

Fuller: Not specifically, no. I supported him as the Republican candidate. I do not recall if he had any Republican opponent at that time.

Stein: He ran against Frederick Napoleon Howser in the primary.

Fuller: I don't recall the details of that campaign. I wasn't involved directly in it at all.

Stein: I see, because you were federation president?

Fuller: Yes. But, as I say, our clubs would invite both of them to speak, sometimes at different times, sometimes at the same time. It depended on how large a gathering they would have.

Politics and Family Life

Stein: One thing we haven't covered much at all is what effect your work in politics had on your family.

Fuller: Well, my husband was very supportive. I think it had more effect on my boys, who were teenagers at the time. They turned out to be what you'd call "black Republicans."

Stein: What do you mean by that?

Fuller: Well, real hard-bitten Republicans. I mean in their views they're ultra conservative. During that time the boys were very helpful to me. Lord, they'd put up posters and they'd carry things to the post office.

I spoke of these women who would come in and do the addressing. We'd get the mailings all ready for some particular candidate. The boys were always fetching and toting and helping that way.

In high school my older boy had a teacher in social studies who was ultra left wing. In fact, some people had her investigated, charging that she was a Communist. I did not get involved in it, although I rather agreed with them.

From what would go on at our home and the people we would have in our house, the boys, though teenage, were always around and talked to the adults and they to them. So, my son Fritz would just love to challenge this woman who was a teacher and she would challenge back and I'd often have to go to school to back him up. She would charge him with not telling the truth. So, I'd have to get the lady straightened out.

Fuller: So, I could say they were always very supportive of me. I was divorced in 1951, but it had nothing to do with politics.

Stein: You were able to support yourself after that.

Fuller: Yes. After that I went into the real estate business.

Stein: That's where the real estate business comes up. I see.

Fuller: Yes, I went into the real estate business which was very helpful to me because I worked for a company which was very sympathetic to my activities. I only worked on weekends--Friday, Saturday, and Sunday. That way I could do my Republican work Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday and make both ends meet and still get the Republican work tended to also.

Stein: What real estate company was that?

Fuller: It was the Ivan Jones Co. He had an office in Los Angeles, but he also had one in Palos Verdes and I was in the Palos Verdes office. He had a manager in that office, Bob Allen. It was a small office and, of course, it was all residential property. Bob Allen was very helpful because if I would be at the point of closing the deal on the weekend, then he would pick up the pieces and see that it got to escrow and all those details.

Federation Work

Stein: In working in Republican affairs during the week, what exactly would that entail?

Fuller: Visiting clubs primarily, attending various meetings, and also county and state central committee business, rallying support for the various candidates that we were supporting.

Stein: Would you organize rallies yourself?

Fuller: Sometimes, but usually I would go into the area, say go into the San Marino club, and probably speak briefly and then they'd have a main speaker.

One campaign that was extremely interesting--now this was 1952. There was a young man named Bob Finch who was at that time in the Marine Corps. His home was in the Palos Verdes area, not right directly

Fuller: in Palos Verdes. Bob Finch was able to take leave from the Marine Corps--he was stationed at Camp Pendleton--to campaign.

Although Palos Verdes itself is primarily a Republican stronghold, it's hitched on to Redondo Beach and Torrance and Gardena which is highly Democratic in registration--it was and I assume still is. There was a man named Cecil King who was the incumbent congressman. No Republican had ever challenged him. He had just gone in year after year without any opposition. So, we thought we had a very, very fine candidate that year in Bob Finch.

I was personally involved in bringing women in from other areas to do door-to-door campaigning for Bob Finch at that time. Unfortunately, we did not win. That was the Eisenhower year also and there were a lot of young congressmen from California, Republicans, who won that year and Bob was the only one that we had really set our hearts on who didn't make it.

We had such fine young men as Glenn Lipscomb from Glendale, Craig Hosmer from Long Beach, Charlie Goobser from up here in the Northern California area. There were quite a few young men who went in that year and we always regretted that Bob Finch didn't make that, although as you know he later became Lieutenant Governor of California.

That was an interesting and a very hard campaign [in 1952]. We did a lot of very diligent work, but when you've got five to one Democrat registration, you just don't have too much chance.

Stein: That's an uphill struggle.

Fuller: Yes, it really is and we did not win. I was always very regretful that we did not win that one.

Stein: Now, these women were volunteer workers, right?

Fuller: Oh, yes, all volunteer workers. They'd come from Pasadena or San Marino or Glendale or out in the San Fernando Valley. They'd be assigned certain districts. We didn't worry about Palos Verdes; we knew we could carry that--but we sent them into Torrance and Gardena and places like that.

It was hard work for the women. I think there's nothing more difficult than just door-to-door campaign work, particularly when you're not known in your community and these women were not. It was an unusual experience for all of us.

Stein: That campaign then would have been after the primary?

Fuller: Oh, yes.

Stein: It was the general election.

Fuller: Cecil King was the Democrat incumbent and he never had any opposition. The Republican party many years running just didn't even bother to put up a candidate. Bob Finch was the only Republican candidate. So, there was no difficulty in the primary. It was the finals that was the greatest concern to us.

Stein: When you say that you went around to various club meetings, was that just in the Southern California area or statewide?

Fuller: No, statewide. The northern division president or one of her board members would sort of lay out a circuit--like the circuit preachers of old--to go to various clubs such as, well, I went from San Francisco over to Berkeley, Berkeley to Santa Rosa, Santa Rosa up to Ukiah. That was as far north as I went along the coastal area. Then, I went up to central California to Marysville and Burney Falls--Burney, California.

Had a delightful time there. It was an evening meeting. Burney is a small community and it was a small club of course. They had their husbands all there, pot luck supper sort of thing. Just as I started to talk we got a terrific electrical storm, thunder and lightning like crazy. So, I was making a speech with a background of thunder and lightning and trying to speak in between times. It was a memorable occasion and the women were most appreciative of my having made the effort to get way up there in that little community.

Consequently, when it came time for my reelection as state president it was the groundwork I had laid of going to visit these little clubs in way off corners of the state that was rewarding to me. I went up to Auburn and had a marvelous time. They're a wonderful group of women. We'd try to coordinate the visits because the federation paid my travel expenses, but I'd always try to stay with someone so that there would be no hotel bill, and that way it was a very modest expenditure.

Federation Divisions and Sub-divisions

Stein: I am a bit confused about the organization of the federation. It's divided into three divisions which we've discussed before. Does each divisions have internal subdivisions?

Fuller: Yes, they do. They'll either go by counties or by individual clubs depending on the size of the county. In Northern California the city and county of San Francisco had one big club; and then Oakland had a club; Berkeley had a club; Lafayette had a club; and clear up to Eureka and Humboldt. They would all send their delegates to the northern division convention.

The same was true for the central division. Now, the central division was more sparsely populated, so it was never as large numerically.

Then, on the state federation we had our officers elected as president and vice-president and the usual secretary and treasurer. Then, each of the division presidents were automatically members of that board.

There were several appointive positions, such as parliamentarian and membership chairman, ways and means chairman. There were various chairmanships so that you were able to give a little of the spotlight to some of the women from the various clubs who had shown a particular talent and ability.

To my knowledge, and I'm not one hundred percent sure of this, I think California is the only federation that has the divisions, but it's strictly for a matter of convenience because of our geography. I don't think there's any other state that is as strung out for so many miles as we are. This way, you see, when the northern division would have a meeting, many more women could travel to a central location in Northern California who could not always go to say Bakersfield or Fresno or Los Angeles or Santa Barbara, wherever we might be holding a state convention. It gave a little more participation to everyone.

Stein: I noticed at least now the northern division is divided up into regions and each region can include more than one county. Is that--

Fuller: You mean now, the present day?

Stein: Yes.

Fuller: I'm not familiar with it. I do not know.

Stein: It wasn't like that when you were there?

Fuller: No, but some of the clubs were developed on a countywide basis and some counties had more than one metropolitan area. For instance, Sonoma County--they had a very good club over in the city of Sonoma and they had a very nice club here in Santa Rosa. So, it just depended on the population distribution really.

Stein: I see.

Fuller: As I say, our by-laws provided that a new club could be formed with ten members, so it gave an opportunity for women in little out of the way places where there was not a large population to have their own club.

Stein: Were you also responsible for coordinating the conventions, or at least the statewide convention?

Fuller: The statewide convention. When I was southern division president, of course, it was just the southern division. We'd usually appoint a convention chairman wherever it was to be held. We had one in Fresno and so the club president in Fresno was the chairman for the convention there. From her own membership she drew women to work on the arrangements committee. So, we would go in and all the credentials would be taken care of, you know, and assigning people to hotel and motel rooms, whatever it might be.

But as far as the program for the convention, the state president and the local chairman, with contributions from the members of the board, would select or suggest who they should have for speakers at various meetings and things like that. So, the local club carried the ball for the arrangements.

Stein: Who carried the ball for the newsletters?

Fuller: We appointed a newsletter chairman. That was under the publicity chairmanship really. When we started the newsletters, Katherine Wright from Glendale, a very talented writer and a very astute student of politics, compiled and wrote it. She contributed a great deal in the newsletter: information about national politics or statewide politics and issues and things like that. She had a sister named Virginia Herzog, also from Glendale, who was a great organizer. The two of them were completely different personalities, but each had their very definite talents.

School of Politics, 1951

Stein: I'd like to turn now to 1951. That year there was the School of Politics, which I gather was a project of the national federation.

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: According to your scrapbooks, it was organized originally by Mrs. Joseph [Betty] Farrington.

Fuller: Yes, she was national president.

Stein: Were you involved at all in that?

Fuller: Well, in the discussions of it at the national federation meetings. Mrs. Bruce Sommers really was the organizer. Betty Farrington was national president. Then there was a young woman from Maryland, Louise Gore, who just a couple of years ago ran for lieutenant governor. She didn't win, unfortunately. She was very influential in trying to develop the School of Politics.

Stein: What happened in the School of Politics?

Fuller: Nationally they would send out guidelines and handbooks, most informally prepared little handbooks, of suggested guidelines for conducting the School of Politics. In other words, the aim was particularly to reach new members who were unfamiliar with the workings of the political machinery, to educate them in politics, whether it be at the county or the congressional or the state level. So many women really have an interest in politics but they're really quite babes in the woods as to the practicality of various things. So, it was just an educational program to try and reach more and more women.

Stein: Would you talk about how to run a campaign, how to understand the ballot issues?

Fuller: Yes, ballot measures were always very important things for discussion, but primarily candidates and the qualifications of the candidates that we were supporting, to emphasize their good points, and then how to get out the vote, the importance of the person-to-person contact to get out the vote, and how to do telephone contact work too.

I feel so sorry for some people who call selling this, that, and the other on the telephone. They have not been very well trained in doing it. There's a technique to telephone contact work. You can

Fuller: really offend someone with your first sentence or you can stimulate their interest with your first sentence. So, it's things like that that we tried to do.

Stein: Who would your speakers be?

Fuller: When we were in the middle of a campaign we would try to feature our candidates, whether it was for congress or the state legislature. For instance, in the San Fernando Valley at that time we had one state legislator and we would just put a great deal of emphasis on his campaign. Then, countywide at that time we had one senator and that was the interesting campaign where Mildred Younger challenged the incumbent Republican, Jack Tenney, whom many of us did not like at all. He'd been in there a long, long time.

Those of us who lived in Los Angeles County really for a long time had believed that Los Angeles shouldn't just have one senator because of its tremendous size and population. However, there was another side to the picture; much of the conservative legislation that came before the state bodies was saved because of what we called the cow counties senators. The assembly often go off on tangents of spending the taxpayers' money, or trying to, and it would be the more conservative senators of our less populated areas--of course, at the time I was active, Senator [Randolph] Collier, who is known as the father of the California freeway system, was a Republican. We all loved Senator Collier and I got so darned mad when he changed his registration, but he did. He's still in the state legislature as a Democrat senator. But, he's still good and conservative. It was a matter of expediency.

Stein: I guess a rose by any other name--

Fuller: Yes, well, it was a matter of expediency. He could see the tide turning, of the upsurge of the Democrat voter registration, and changed.

Stein: I noticed in your scrapbook that there was a School of Politics in southern division that the federation sponsored in 1951 that was attended, it said, by more than four hundred women and a score of men.

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: Mrs. Gladys O'Donnell and Mrs. Dorothy Goodknight were general co-chairmen of that convention. You worked very closely with those two women, didn't you?

Fuller: Yes. Yes, indeed.

Dorothy Goodknight and Gladys O'Donnell

Stein: I'm afraid that we will not get to interview Mrs. Goodknight. So, what we're trying to do is get the story of both ladies as well as we can from the people who knew them.

Fuller: All right. They are people that I'd be delighted to talk about. Gladys O'Donnell was, when I first met her, the president of the Long Beach Republican women, which was then the largest club in California and I assume it still is. Gladys O'Donnell had gained fame as an aviatrix in earlier days. She won the first Bendix race. It was a cross country race in I do not know what year. Her husband was an oilman who had, in the early days of oil in California, had a drilling company. I think it was primarily in the Signal Hill-Long Beach area. He was also a great sportsman, loved to hunt. They would go off on safaris to Africa every once in a while. Their home was filled with very interesting trophies and things like that.

Dorothy Goodknight was her very close personal friend and supporter. Dorothy Goodknight at that time was the program chairman for the Long Beach club and a very, very gracious and beautiful woman and a good speaker also.

Gladys O'Donnell was a very fine businesswoman and a good organizer and also an excellent speaker. She was always very well prepared to speak whenever called upon, whenever necessary. I would say that as far as Gladys O'Donnell is concerned, I considered her my right arm.

If I may jump forward a little bit to 1954: I was state president when I received my appointment to go into federal government and Gladys was the vice-president. I had invited, with the approval of our state board, Eisenhower to come to California.

Stein: That was in connection with the national federation's convention in Los Angeles, wasn't it?

Fuller: Yes, in Los Angeles. That's right. You see, the national federation had always met east of the Mississippi. I was a real pusher to get them to come to California and it took a lot of pushing. So, I invited the President, with the help of Senator [William] Knowland and Nora Kearns, who at that time was the national federation president.

Then, I had to call a special meeting of the California board of directors, to inform them that I'd received an appointment to go in federal service. This then put the full load on Gladys O'Donnell, which

Fuller: I had expected to carry, with her support of course. She said, "Oh, Jean, I just can't do it!" I said, "Of course, you can. You'll do it better than I ever would." And she did. She did an excellent job. So, she became the acting president of the federation and later was elected in her own right to be California federation president.

Stein: You showed me a photo earlier, didn't you, that had to do with the invitation to President Eisenhower to that convention?

Fuller: Yes. [Gets photo] This was Nora Kearns, president of the federation. Her husband was a congressman from Pennsylvania. [Pointing to Knowland and Eisenhower in photo] Senator Bill Knowland and the President. I had been pressuring and pressuring the national federation to take the convention to Los Angeles. Those eastern women, you know, they just don't think there's anything west of Staten Island, someplace west of the Potomac.

Nora Kearns said, "Jean, if you can get the President to come to California for our federation we'll do it." So, I went over to see Senator [Bill] Knowland and I told him that this was what we wanted to do. He said, "Where's Nora Kearns now?" I said, "Well, she's over at the hotel. I can get her in a minute." He said, "Well, call her. I'll call the White House. We'll pick her up and we'll go to the White House." It was just like that.

[Referring to photo] So, this is me presenting a formal invitation to President Eisenhower to come to California to the Hollywood Bowl. That's when he did, but by the time he did I'm back in Battle Creek, Michigan leaving the whole mess to dear Gladys O'Donnell.

Stein: Getting back to Dorothy Goodknight--

Fuller: Dorothy Goodknight, as I say, was always with Gladys O'Donnell to assist her in any way and assist me also. She was excellent at organizing telephone campaigns and things like that in the Long Beach area. I think she and Gladys O'Donnell can be given prime credit for the election of Congressman Craig Hosmer who was a very fine, very fine congressman, just one of the very nicest.

Later Gladys became one of the officers in the national federation. Finally, and I do not recall what year, she ran for national president. She had a great deal of support from members of Congress, particularly our California delegation, but many others from other states also from the western states.



Jean Wood Fuller arriving at Long Beach Municipal Airport to address state convention of the California Council of Republican Women, 1950. From left to right: Mrs. Logan (Dorothy) Goodknight, Mrs. Cecil Kenyon, Mrs. Fuller, and Mrs. Gladys O'Donnell. Inset, lower left corner, pictures Mrs. Kenyon (left) and Mrs. Fuller.



Mrs. Jean Wood Fuller, far right, president, California Federation of Republican Women, presents invitation to President Eisenhower to be principal speaker at annual convention of National Federation of Republican Women in Los Angeles, 1954. California Senator William Knowland and National Federation president Nora Kearns look on.

Fuller: She was challenged--her name had been placed in nomination by the nominating committee. That was the year that Phyllis Schlafly entered the picture. Now, I do not know too much about Mrs. Schlafly's background in federation work. She came from Illinois. But, it was a very hotly contested election which gained quite a bit of national notice, because it was, quote, the moderates versus the ultra right.

Stein: Gladys O'Donnell being the moderate?

Fuller: Moderate, yes. Mrs. Schlafly, of course, is quite representative of the ultra right. Do you listen to her radio program?

Stein: No, I haven't. I've heard interviews with her.

Fuller: There's a program on CBS where they put on various people and she quite frequently--

Stein: Oh, yes. I've heard some of those. The program is called Spectrum.

Fuller: Spectrum. She gained quite a bit of notice when she wrote the book about [Barry] Goldwater, A Choice, Not a Chance. Not being a professional writer myself but having done a good deal of writing, I thought it was the most atrociously written book I'd ever read. Of course, I had a built-in prejudice because she had challenged Gladys O'Donnell. I have a built-in prejudice when I listen to her on the radio and yet I guess she does a good deal of research in preparation of her materials.

Stein: Just to finish up that story of that election, who won?

Fuller: Gladys O'Donnell. She became national federation president. In the meantime her husband had passed away. So, it was very good for Gladys to have the activity to keep her very keen mind alert. She sold her home in Long Beach and moved to Washington and took a very nice apartment there.

Dorothy Goodknight, also by then a widow, went back with her, so they shared the apartment. I don't have the intimate knowledge of just what they did during that time, because I was back here on the West Coast at the time, but I know that Dorothy Goodknight must've been a tremendous help to Gladys. When her term as federation president was over she was appointed to some federal board. I'm not a hundred percent sure, but I think it was to the Environmental Protection Agency. She served in that until she passed away, which was a great shock to me.

Stein: When was that? Do you remember?

Fuller: About three years ago, I think.

Stein: Then Dorothy Goodknight, I gather, moved back out to the West Coast.

Fuller: Yes, she did. She lives in Long Beach.

Stein: Is there anything else that we should say about either one of them?

Fuller: Well, there just isn't enough that I could say about either one of them, particularly Gladys, but I would just have to ramble on and on.

Stein: What did she look like?

Fuller: She was taller than I. I would suggest she was about 5'7". She was slender and reddish brown hair. I'm assuming that she was at least twelve to fifteen years older than I, but she looked like a very young woman, carried herself beautifully and was so youthful in all of her outlooks and mannerisms. The selection of her wardrobe was just perfection--lovely, but muted elegance. Whatever she wore, she looked like a million dollars. Sometimes they were expensive things and sometimes they were not. Just exquisite taste. Always wore exactly the right thing for whatever the occasion might be, whether flying an airplane or presiding at a meeting or anything.

Stein: What about Dorothy Goodknight?

Fuller: Oh, Dorothy Goodknight was about 5'5" and she had dark hair about like yours [dark brown]. Very pretty. Also always very beautifully groomed.

[Tape off while Mrs. Fuller gets photograph of Mrs. O'Donnell and Mrs. Goodknight.]

Another Workshop on Politics

Stein: Getting back to the School of Politics, I noticed in the scrapbooks that in June of '54 you spoke at the California Regional College Teachers Workshop in Practical Politics, sponsored by The Citizenship Clearing House of the Law Center of NYU and Pomona College. You spoke on a panel on the Republican party. I think I mentioned that to you last week and you said that was quite a hectic affair. I thought we should get the story of that.

Fuller: Well, my recollection of it is a little hazy. As you will recall, I'm just a high school graduate, never did claim to be the brainiest kid in the block, and to have to go up against college professors and very sharp attorneys to defend the Republican party, being the only one there to defend the Republican party or present its point of view--the panel was stacked against me, or against my party. So, I just used every ounce of brain power I could summon up that evening to hold up my end of the bargain. It was an interesting thing, but--

[end side 1, tape 1]

[begin tape 1, side 2]

Stein: You were saying that the panel was stacked against you.

Fuller: It was indeed and I was glad when the evening was over. I was honored to have been invited, but I think they should've sent one of the men attorneys, such as Bernard Brennan or even Ed Shattuck who was active at that time.

Stein: Did you speak at any other functions like that?

Fuller: No, not that I recall, mostly at just Republican organization meetings.

The 1952 California Federation of Republican Women Election

Stein: In 1952 the California federation had its convention in Fresno and that was where you were reelected president.

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: The newspaper clippings made it sound as though there was quite a contest in that year between you and Mrs. Gladys Penland of Berkeley. Is that accurate?

Fuller: There were those who did want to elect a northerner and there were some who felt that one term as president should be established. That would be a two-year term. However, it had been almost traditional that it would be two two-year terms for each president.

Interestingly enough, Gladys Penland was a very good friend of mine and I more or less always felt that she allowed herself to be used. She was a sweet woman. She later became president of the

Fuller: federation. It was unfortunate because in later years it sort of prejudiced some people who were friends of mine against Gladys Penland, but it shouldn't have. They were just a small group who would do anything to try and embarrass me.

Stein: Were these the ultra conservatives?

Fuller: Yes. Gladys Penland was a very fascinating woman, a lovely person. She had been the wife of a man (a Mr. Leggett) who had a very successful insurance business in Berkeley. It was an old established company. She had one son who was small at the time her husband passed away most unexpectedly. Gladys carried on the insurance business and was more successful than her husband.

It was quite interesting. She was a pioneer in her field because at that time no woman had been allowed to--no woman had been given a license to be an insurance broker. She was very popular in Berkeley and had been a graduate of UC. Many of the old grads of Berkeley just went to bat for her before whatever commission that they had at that time, insurance commission, that she should be allowed to carry on the business. And she did, and she became even more successful than her husband. Let's say the old grads gave all their business to Gladys. She had all sorts of insurance business--on waterfront businesses and storage businesses. She just didn't go in for life and accident insurance, things like that. She had really big business insurance.

She ultimately remarried. Her name at that time was Gladys Leggett. She ultimately married a Dr. Penland. Now, Dr. Penland was a charming goateed gentleman, looking rather like a slim Colonel Sanders. He was the originator of Dr. Penland's Bread which had a very high nutritional count. It was an expensive bread and it was a dark bread, but he was known all over the state of California for his bread.

By the time I met him he had retired, but he was one of those darling little gentlemen with a twinkle in his eye who was just irresistible. He and Gladys had a charming little home up in Berkeley, not pretentious at all.

By this time she had turned her insurance business over to her son, Bud Leggett. She was also to devote a great deal of time to political work as a volunteer. She was president of the northern division. Just one of the most charming women you could ever imagine.

Stein: Do I gather correctly that her politics were fairly close to yours?

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: So she was just being used by the conservatives?

Fuller: Yes. Gladys, though she was a very smart woman in business, was a little naive in politics. She loved everybody and expected everybody to love her, and they did. As I say, she let them use her to try to defeat me, but between her and me there were absolutely no hard feelings whatever. We became very, very close friends.

Stein: Is she now deceased?

Fuller: Yes, she is. I saw her about 1966, I believe the last time. She was just a shadow of her former self and she passed away the following year. We just loved her.

Stein: I'm a little bit confused, still, about this north-south controversy. The northerners felt they ought to have a northerner as state president. Was that politically based or was that regionally--

Fuller: It was custom. You see, the woman who preceded me--

Stein: Mary Jasper.

Fuller: Mary Jasper was from Northern California.

Stein: I see. So, it traded back and forth.

Fuller: Yes. You find that all through the Republican state politics. In the state central committee you'll have a northern chairman and a southern vice-chairman. Whoever is elected southern vice-chairman is expected to be the chairman for the next term. It always switches north and south. But, in our federation we had always held it for two terms.

The 1952 Republican National Convention and Campaign

The Werdel Challenge

Stein: I see. Let's move on to the 1952 Republican convention. The first thing that I'm interested in is the California delegation to Chicago because that was the year that there was a very strong challenge to the Warren people headed by Congressman Thomas Werdel.

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: Did you know much about the Werdel challenge?

Fuller: What I knew was this: He was backed by the ultra right wing of the party. I did not know him personally. I think we had always considered him a fine young congressman. Why did they object to Earl Warren? There was always a group in California who objected to Earl Warren.

Stein: I've xeroxed this. I'll just read it to you.

Fuller: Okay.

Stein: It's from a biography of Earl Warren, but it's a quote from Werdel. I was wondering if this was an accurate reflection of his views and what you thought of it.

[Reading from Leo Katcher, Earl Warren: A Political Biography, pp. 275-276] Werdel said:

"We had a number of reasons for running a slate against Warren. To start with, he was never really anti-Communist. He just wasn't aware of the Communist menace or the real depth of the Communist conspiracy. There was plenty of material available both in Washington and in the state, but he just ignored it. I think he still does.

When he was Governor he appointed men to office, and supported others, who had socialistic ideas or belonged to organizations with a Red taint. Men like Clarence Dykstra and Clark Kerr who were all for socializing business and education, and Pat Brown.

However, I would say the major reason we put up our own slate was because we knew Warren wasn't a serious candidate. I said from the beginning that he wanted a delegation so that he could trade it off for a place in the Cabinet or on the Supreme Court. He knew he was finished in California and he was looking for a place to go.

Warren's own philosophy of government was tainted with socialism and repugnant to us. I was chairman of the state Senate Judiciary Committee when he sent down programs like socialized medicine and FEPC [Fair Employment Practices Commission]. I knew how involved the left wing was in those programs and he was fighting their battles for them. Warren never believed in letting the individual take care of himself. He always wanted the government to take over."

Stein: Another objection that Werdel had was that he always claimed that Warren wasn't a true Republican because he always ran on his own and refused to support other Republican candidates.

Fuller: Yes. Basically I'm sure Mr. Werdel was sincere in that statement and the people who followed him were avid in that type of thinking. I think the rest of us were very pragmatic politicians and we recognized the fact that Governor Warren always ran his own campaign and he never did endorse other candidates.

He was a very independent man and I think we have to understand Earl Warren's background from early boyhood which you probably know more about than I do. He was the first man to get in workmen's compensation in the state. I don't know that any other state had it at that time. But, I can understand why, because when he was a small boy his father was either very seriously injured or killed in a railroad accident. He was a railroad man. The family had a very, very difficult time and there was no aid for them anyplace. There was an inbred feeling in Earl Warren's heart that there should be some way to take care of such situations. I was all for that. I thought that was fine.

That really gives you a true picture of why the Werdel people opposed Warren. But, how it affected me personally-- Because I was state president, though I was asked to go on the Warren delegation and would have adored to have done so; because there were two Republicans filed for the primary, I technically and accordingly to our by-laws should not take sides. I could've risen above it or stepped below it--whichever you wish to say--and say, "I'm going on as an individual, not as the president of the federation." but I didn't think it was the right thing to do.

Stein: Were there people who wanted you to do that?

Fuller: Oh, yes. Yes, I was asked to and I just said, "No, I work under a certain set of by-laws and I tell the women who are presidents of the clubs that they should do the same thing and if I violate what I've told them, I'm going against my own conscience and against the by-laws." So, it kept me off the delegation but strictly of my own choosing and I hated it because I wanted to go. I went, but not as a delegate.

Stein: Did the Werdel people approach you at all?

Fuller: Oh, no.

Stein: They knew that--

Fuller: They knew they wouldn't have a chance.

Stein: They wouldn't get anywhere. Did that Warren-Werdel split cause a split at all in the federation?

Fuller: No. No more than there ever had been before. We've discussed the Santa Barbara convention and other conventions, the one in Long Beach where I was opposed, and this one with Mrs. Penland. They still kept on being members of the federation and we welcomed them, but we did not want to be so narrow that we would only allow in certain types of people. After all, if they were Republican, they were Republican.

Stein: Did you know any of these other pro-Werdel people, like John Smith or John Strober?

Fuller: No, I don't.

Stein: I think Dana Smith, who later was treasurer of the Nixon fund, was one of the other Werdel people. Did you know him?

Fuller: I did know Dana Smith, but I didn't know he was on the Werdel side.

Stein: He may not have been. Actually here I have a list. These were all the people on the Werdel delegation. I don't think Dana Smith was a delegate actually. [Shows Mrs. Fuller list of Werdel delegates]

Fuller: Genevieve Blaisdell.

Stein: Was she a federation lady?

Fuller: No, although, now wait a minute. Yes, she was. Adolphe Menjou, Mildred Prince, C. Arnholt Smith, Edward Tickle, William Traner, Grace Faulkner. Phil Bancroft, I didn't realize he went on it. A lot of these people I do not know at all. George Miliias, Jr., Frank Collier--he was an assemblyman from Southern California, Katherine Brown Becker.

Stein: Frank Collier, is that the same one you were talking about before?

Fuller: No. No, there's an Assemblyman Collier--Bud, they call him--in the state legislature, and then there's a State Senator Collier. Loyd Wright, very prominent Los Angeles attorney. Charles Chapel was an awful troublemaker.

Stein: How so?

Section of Nomination Paper Signed by Voter on Behalf of Group of Candidates

(Sec 2111, Elections Code)

County of San Diego city or town of Duncan
 Nomination paper of group of candidates for election as delegates by REPUBLICAN party.
 STATE OF CALIFORNIA

County of San Diego } **SIGNER'S STATEMENT**

I, the undersigned, am a voter of the city (or town) of San Diego, County
 of San Diego, State of California, and am registered as intending to affiliate
 with the REPUBLICAN Party. I hereby nominate the following:

No	Name	Residence (City or Town)	County	Cons. District
1	Genevieve O. Mansdell	South Pasadena	Los Angeles	24
2	Donald Cass	Los Angeles	Los Angeles	24
3	William M. Keck	West Los Angeles	Los Angeles	16
4	Adolphe J. Menjou	Beverly Hills	Los Angeles	16
5	Keith McCormac	Bakersfield	Kern	14
6	C. L. Preisker	Santa Maria	Santa Barbara	13
7	Mildred M. Prince	San Francisco	San Francisco	4
8	C. Arnold Smith	San Diego	San Diego	20
9	Edward H. Tickle	Carmel	Monterey	13
10	William J. Traber	San Francisco	San Francisco	4
11	Grace L. Faulkner	Black Point	Marin	1
12	Blaine D. Brainerd	Santa Rosa	Sonoma	1
13	Loren C. Bamert	Yuba	Yuba	2
14	Dor. Steadman	Gridley	Butte	2
15	William P. Rich	Marysville	Yuba	2
16	Harold R. Graves	Sacramento	Sacramento	2
17	Herbert Hanley	San Francisco	San Francisco	4
18	Lena Lee Clark	San Francisco	San Francisco	4
19	Sophia P. Brownell	San Francisco	San Francisco	5
20	Edward G. Olsen	San Francisco	San Francisco	5
21	Philip Baneroff, Jr.	Ygnacio Valley	Contra Costa	6
22	Frank J. Hollender	Pittsburg	Contra Costa	6
23	Bruce Holman	Berkeley	Alameda	7
24	Charles W. Fisher	Oakland	Alameda	7
25	Mrs. Jane C. Tasto	Castro Valley	Alameda	8
26	Col. B. Carl Bluhm	Oakland	Alameda	8
27	Rudolph A. Rapsey	San Bruno	San Mateo	9
28	Carl Wm. Anderson	San Carlos	San Mateo	9
29	James B. Kessler	Palo Alto	Santa Clara	10
30	George C. Milias, Jr.	Gilroy	Santa Clara	10
31	Frank B. Collier	Modesto	Stanislaus	11
32	Mrs. Katherine Brown Becker	Stockton	San Joaquin	11
33	Waldemar F. Ott	Fremont	Fremont	12
34	Max B. Arnold	Madera	Madera	12
35	Horry E. Crean	Salinas	Monterey	13
36	Joseph H. Russell	Camarillo	Ventura	13
37	David Francis Snedden	Bakersfield	Kern	14
38	Everette Lane Cloer	Porterville	Tulare	14
39	Lloyd E. Wright	Los Angeles	Los Angeles	15
40	John F. S. D'Aule	Los Angeles	Los Angeles	15
41	Richard K. Gandy	Santa Monica	Los Angeles	16
42	Charles A. Bagan	Beverly Hills	Los Angeles	16
43	Charles Edward Chapel	Inglewood	Los Angeles	17
44	Alice E. Madden	Redondo Beach	Los Angeles	17
45	George R. Ray	Long Beach	Los Angeles	18
46	Walter H. Boyd	Long Beach	Los Angeles	18
47	Charles L. Agius	Los Angeles	Los Angeles	19
48	Julianne Tymchuk	Los Angeles	Los Angeles	19
49	Joseph M. de los Reyes	Glendale	Los Angeles	20
50	Bearl Sprott	Pasadena	Los Angeles	20
51	Richard A. Carpenter	La Canada	Los Angeles	21
52	George A. Starbird	Burbank	Los Angeles	21
53	Jack B. Tenney	Hollywood	Los Angeles	22
54	Mrs. Virginia S. Snow	Woodland Hills	Los Angeles	22
55	Jonathan J. Hollibaugh	Huntington Park	Los Angeles	23
56	Mrs. Mabel G. Wiley	Huntington Park	Los Angeles	23
57	Mrs. Helen M. Clute	Los Angeles	Los Angeles	24
58	Mrs. Lola Jaques	Los Angeles	Los Angeles	24
59	Carleton B. Tibbetts	San Marino	Los Angeles	25
60	Raymond C. Thompson	Whittier	Los Angeles	25
61	Mrs. Mary V. Bell	Culver City	Los Angeles	26
62	Joseph F. Reinhart, Jr.	Los Angeles	Los Angeles	26
63	J. Dale Gentry	San Bernardino	San Bernardino	27
64	Mrs. Marian J. Abbott	Upland	San Bernardino	27
65	Clyde A. Watson	Orange	Orange	26
66	Leslie E. Gehres	La Mesa	San Diego	28
67	F. L. Young	Calexico	Imperial	29
68	Catharine Woodworth	Banning	Riverside	29
69	Edward S. Hope	San Diego	San Diego	30
70	Faye Hartman	San Diego	San Diego	30

Fuller: He later became a state assemblyman. He was inclined to be an alcoholic. Oh, there was the very amusing situation. He was up in the balcony at the Chicago convention and he was causing such a ruckus. You see, he was a Werdel delegate, not a Warren delegate. I can see him up in the balcony, a very bald headed man. He was causing an awful ruckus. The sergeant-at-arms--it took three of them--carried him out bodily.

[Referring to list] Alice Madden; she was from Long Beach. I had put her on my southern division board and she was a real trouble-maker.

Stein: How was she a troublemaker?

Fuller: Oh, just always objecting to everything. Dick Carpenter. Jack Tenney, see, he was a state senator.

Stein: Had you put Alice Madden on the board to try to defuse her?

Fuller: She was a very attractive young woman and she was a member of the Long Beach club. They had proposed that she be appointed in some appointive office. I forget just what, but she was always just slightly in non-agreement with the majority.

Virginia Snow knew absolutely, absolutely nothing about politics. She was a somewhat close neighbor of mine out in the San Fernando Valley.

Carleton Tibbetts, he was a prominent attorney. Leslie Gehres, that's Admiral Gehres from San Diego who at one time ran for congress and was defeated. I liked him very much.

Stein: Had you worked with any of these people on the central committee or in the federation?

Fuller: Phil Bancroft had been on the central committee. James B. Kessler from Palo Alto, his wife was active in the federation. Not a very effective woman. George Miliias, of course, was on. Frank Collier. Mr. Chapel was on the central committee and he appointed Alice Madden to the committee. Dick Carpenter, Richard Carpenter, became the executive director of the League of California Cities. Jack Tenney, Hollywood, he was a state senator.

Now most of them--of course, Les Gehres, very well respected--most of them were not what you would call really leaders of the Republican organization. Genevieve Blaisdell, she was a Pro-America gal. Mildred Prince, of course, was Pro-America. It was Mildred Prince

- Fuller: who wanted to be National Committeewoman when Marjie Benedict was elected to that post. They're not your run of the mill Republican leaders by and large. There are a few exceptions to that statement.
- Stein: Were these people, and was Werdel himself, considering Werdel a serious candidate?
- Fuller: I don't think so. By his own statement he made there, I don't believe he did. I think he just wanted to embarrass Earl Warren any way he could.
- Stein: I notice one of the names here is Mrs. Jane Tasto. Did you know her?
- Fuller: I don't.
- Stein: She was Northern California, from Castro Valley I think.
- Fuller: I don't recall the name as ever having been in the federation. The name is completely unfamiliar to me.
- Stein: In 1952, as a matter of fact, Werdel was also running for reelection to Congress. He lost his seat that year, despite the fact that quite a few Republicans won, as you mentioned before. I wondered if his defeat was in any way related to this business.
- Fuller: I would rather assume so. I'm not very familiar with his district. It was Bakersfield as I recall, Kern County. I'm not too familiar with the politics of that area, but I would say that--well, of course, he would lose his seat if he was putting his name up in nomination for something else. He would just automatically lose it.
- Stein: I gather he was running for reelection against someone named Harlan Hagen.
- Fuller: Couldn't have been the same year. Really?
- Stein: That's what my research notes said.
- Fuller: Well, that's probably right. I had the impression that if you--we were talking about Bella Abzug.
- Stein: Yes.
- Fuller: She would have to give up her seat in congress to run for the Senate. But it may not be so in this particular situation. Yes, that's right. Harlan Hagan did win it. I imagine it was a backlash from Werdel's--

Fuller: you see, Werdel probably neglected his own district. He probably felt too sure of himself in his district, and by going out of his district to campaign statewide, as we would say, the old boys in the hometown probably didn't like it.

The Warren Delegation

Stein: Were you at all familiar with how the Warren delegation was chosen?

Fuller: No, I assume it was chosen much as it had been done in times past. People made recommendations to the governor and then he selected them. I know the national committeewoman and the national committeeman would present a list and probably the state chairman.

Then, there were some people who were always--for instance, the year that I was on the delegation in '48, Robert Gordon Sproul was on and Harold Lloyd was on, and there were people who were prominent names but people who had not been particularly active in the Republican party per se. Governor Warren, true to his form, was pretty independent about--and he wanted to be sure of who he had on his delegation, that they would be with him all the way until he released them.

Stein: Now, that brings up another question: I understand it happens at every convention, that between the time that the original delegation is chosen and the convention, several delegates have to drop out for one reason or another and substitutes are appointed.

Fuller: That's why you have a list of alternates. You always have a list of alternates.

Stein: What had been suggested to us was that in this particular case in 1952, when these few delegates did drop out, that they were replaced by pro-Nixon people rather than Warren people.

Fuller: I'm not at all sure of that because I wasn't familiar enough with that particular delegation, but it may have been that when the alternates were chosen there were some who were pro-Nixon, you might say.

Stein: I have a list of the Warren delegation here. [Gives Mrs. Fuller a list of the Warren delegation.]

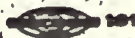
Fuller: Thank you.

*women
alternates,*

**Temporary Roll
of
Delegates
and
Alternate Delegates
to
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL
CONVENTION**

*Chicago, Illinois
July 7, 1952*

Republican National Committee



ARKANSAS

(Eleven Delegates)

AT LARGE

DELEGATES

Wallace Townsend Little Rock
Commercial Nat'l Bank Building
A. F. Reed El Dorado
% Lion Oil Company
Chas. F. Cole Batesville
Osro Cobb Little Rock
Pyramid Building

ALTERNATES

A. L. Barber Little Rock
1408 Donaghey Building
H. A. Powell Little Rock
Century Building
Dewey Davenport Clinton
Morris Mills Marshall

DISTRICT

1—Harry Craig Caraway
2—Elmer C. Webb Mt. View
3—Harry Pollock Fort Smith
F. A. Teague Berryville
4—W. L. Jameson, Jr. Magnolia
5—Pratt C. Remmell Little Rock
6—Mrs. Eleanor Harris Bailey
..... Hot Springs

1—L. V. Rhine Paragould
2—E. C. Edwards Newark
3—S. E. Trostle Siloam Springs
John E. Ellis Fayetteville
4—C. I. Grayson Camden
5—John A. Hibbler Little Rock
6—A. W. Campbell Scott

CALIFORNIA

(Seventy Delegates)

Note—Opposite each Delegate is shown the Alternate for that particular Delegate.

AT LARGE.

DELEGATES

William F. Knowland Piedmont
100 Guilford Road
Richard Nixon Whittier
15257 Anaconda Blvd.
McIntyre Faries San Marino
2464 Ridgeway Road
Marjorie H. E. Benedict Berkeley 7
430 Michigan Ave.
Truman H. De Lap Richmond
2616 Sonoma Ave., El Cerrito
Laughlin E. Waters Los Angeles
1163 Fourth Ave.
George Toland Cameron
..... San Francisco 8
1100 Sacramento St.
Charles S. Thomas Los Angeles
456 S. Plymouth
Mendel B. Silberberg Beverly Hills
802 N. Rexford Dr.
George L. Murphy Beverly Hills
807 N. Rodeo Dr.

ALTERNATES

Marvin Sherwin Piedmont
111 Pacific Avenue
Frank E. Jorgensen San Marino
1825 Palmas Drive
Preston Hotchkis San Merino
1415 Circle Drive
William D. Wood Oakland
3120 East 14th St.
Arthur W. Carlson Oakland
1503 Central Bank Bldg.
Frank B. Belcher Los Angeles
163 S. Plymouth
Mrs. Patricia Connick San Francisco
1222 8th Ave.
Willard W. Keith Los Angeles
400 South Rimpau
Iren Dunne Griffin Holmby Hills
461 N. Faring Road
Leonard K. Firestone Beverly Hills
1014 Laurel Way

DISTRICT

1—Charles R. Barnum Eureka
703—8th St.
Mrs. Winifred T. Noyes Napa
Silverado Trail
2—Harold J. Powers Eagleville
Jesse M. Mayo Angels Camp
3—Carl E. Rodegerdts Woodland
177 Lincoln Ave.
Phillip C. Wilkins Sacramento
1335—46th St.
4—Jesse H. Steinhart San Francisco
2212 Vallejo St.
Arthur Dolan, Jr. San Francisco
15 Santa Paula Ave.
5—Thomas Joseph Mellon
..... San Francisco
1271 Church St.
Stephen Malatesta San Francisco
275 Telegraph Hill Blvd.

1—V. A. Caracappa Eureka
P. O. Box 832
Mrs. Edna Kasch Ukiah
417 Oak Park Ave.
2—Mrs. Inez Robie Anburn
P. O. Box 1228
Ray B. Wiser Gridley
Route 1, Box 141
3—Archibald M. Mull, Jr. Sacramento
1301 45th St.
Bartley W. Cavanaugh Sacramento
City Hall
4—William A. O'Brien San Francisco
27 San Benito Way
Walter Haas San Francisco
2100 Pacific Ave.
5—Charles Rosenthal San Francisco
1000 Mason Street
Henry J. Rogers San Francisco
701 Pine St.

CALIFORNIA (Continued)

- 6—George H. Weise.....Martinez
3121 Ricks Court
Wayne W. Woodard.....Fairfield
802 Empire St.
- 7—William F. Reichel....Piedmont 25
50 St. James Place
James H. Quinn.....Oakland
711 Arimo Ave.
- 8—John J. Mulvany.....Alameda
2927 Gibbons Dr.
Luther H. Lincoln.....Oakland
4000 Redwood Rd.
- 9—Harry A. Mitchell.....Atherton
180 Stockbridge Ave.
Michael B. O'Connor....San Mateo
227 N. Delaware St.
- 10—Elystus L. Hayes.....Los Gatos
Box 55, Overlook Road
Donald L. Grunsky.....Watsonville
130 Rogers Ave.
- 11—J. Leroy Johnson.....Stockton
1159 W. Elmwood Ave.
James W. Smith.....Modesto
Route #2, Box 814
- 12 A. Oakley Hunter.....Fresno
2413 Michigan Ave.
Milton M. Reiman.....Planada
P. O. Box 37
- 13—Grant Conklin Ehrlich.....
.....Santa Barbara
184 Santa Rosa Lane
Alan G. Pattee.....Salinas
144 Corral de Tierra Road
- 14—Mrs. Florence M. Doe.....Visalia
P. O. Box 401
Arthur S. Crites.....Bakersfield
1001 Oleander Ave.
- 15—Mrs. Edith Alban Lehman.....
.....Los Angeles
3696 Aureola Blvd.
Paul R. Williams.....Los Angeles
1690 Victoria Ave.
- 16—Paul H. Helms.....Los Angeles
10401 Wilshire Blvd.
Mrs. Margaret M. Brock.....
.....Los Angeles
1424 Club View Dr.
- 17—Leonard Di Miceli.....San Pedro
1225 W. 25th St.
Jack A. Drown.....Rolling Hills
1 Crest Road West
- 18—Gladys O'Donnell.....Long Beach
3814 Gundry Ave.
Mrs. Dorothy W. Goodknight....
.....Long Beach
42 La Linda Drive
- 19—Samuel D. Burgeson...Los Angeles
761 S. Fetterly Ave.
Margaret H. Malone....Montebello
114 East Fremont St.
- 20—Bernard C. Brennan.....Glendale
1143 North Howard
Norman M. Lyon.....Pasadena
1054 Armada Drive
- 21—John KrehbielPasadena
4120 Dover Road
Carroll W. Parcher.....Tujunga
9730 Marcus Lane
- 22—A. Ronald Button.....Los Angeles
2263 Maravilla Drive
Mary A. Woolley..North Hollywood
10315 Woodridge St.
- 23—Catherine G. Allen Mitchem.....
.....Los Angeles
9514 Pace Ave.
Lloyd A. Mashburn....Los Angeles
209 E. 99th St.
- 6—Gertrude AllenBrentwood
George C. Demmon.....Vallejo
City Hall
- 7—Tom CaldecottBerkeley
2962 Piedmont Ave.
Robert S. Barkell.....Berkeley
3325 Grove St.
- 8—Mrs. Anna Law.....Oakland
1024 Bella Vista Ave.
Walter F. Gibson.....Oakland
1315 Wellington Ave.
- 9—John Dinkelspiel.....San Francisco
233 Montgomery St.
William M. Werder..Redwood City
930 Ourlston
- 10—Robert C. Kirkwood.....Saratoga
P.O. Box 432
Joseph George, Jr.San Jose
250 Stockton Ave.
- 11—Warren AthertonStockton
1900 Moreing Road
John S. Moore.....Modesto
427 Carolyn St.
- 12—Judge Oliver Germino...Los Banos
Earl J. Fenston.....Fresno
6450 Butler
- 13—Elto L. Van Dellen.....Ventura
429 Lupin Way
A. A. Erhart.....San Luis Obispo
- 14—William M. Martin.....Hanford
Wright Bldg.
Miss Ysabel Forker....Bakersfield
2724 W. 19th St.
- 15—Ben M. Frees.....Los Angeles
259 S. McCadden Place
William D. Campbell...Los Angeles
646 S. Hudson Ave.
- 16—Harold C. Lloyd.....Beverly Hills
1225 North Benedict Canyon
Murray M. Chotiner...Los Angeles
146 North Anita Ave.
- 17—Clifton A. Hix.....Palos Verdes
3345 Villa La Selva
Warren Thornburgh...Los Angeles
3016 Glider Ave.
- 18—Mrs. Ethel B. Gillis....Long Beach
4227 Cedar Ave.
Burton W. Chace.....Long Beach
4160 Country Club Drive
- 19—John Stewart Russell...Montebello
719 West Washington
Henry Mudd.....Los Angeles
227 Muirfield Rd.
- 20—Arch R. Tuthill.....Pasadena
675 Arden Road
Mrs. Athalie R. Clarke...Pasadena
1201 S. Orange Grove Ave.
- 21—Donald A. Odell.....Pasadena
56 North Berkeley
Anbray N. Irwin.....La Canada
1323 Descanso Drive
- 22—Charles J. Conrad.....Studio City
12119 1/2 Valley Heart Drive
Thomas W. Clarke.....Studio City
12192 Laurel Terrace Drive
- 23—Roy L. O. Adams.....Compton
1423 North Willow St.
Rodney A. Jones..Huntington Park
3513 Albany St.

- 24—Mrs. Mildred E. Younger..... Los Angeles
4028 Cromwell Ave.
Roy P. Crocker....South Pasadena
1015 Highland St.
- 25—Patrick J. Hillings.....Arcadia
1128 Hugo Reid Dr.
John J. Garland.....San Marino
1999 S. Oak Knoll
- 26—B. Carl Beehner.....Los Angeles
6680 Colgate Ave.
Roger ArneberghLos Angeles
8963 W. 25th St.
- 27—James E. Cunningham.....
.....San Bernardino
3180 Genevieve St.
Mrs. Barbara B. Heigho.....
.....San Bernadino
901 Edgehill Rd.
- 28—Gordon X. Richmond.....Orange
191 Monterey Road
- Vroman J. Dorman...Lemon Grove
1776 Eldora
- 29—John PhillipsBanning
65 North Fourth St.
Warren BrockImperial
Tamarack Ranch, Route 2
- 30—Richard E. Patton.....San Diego
3725 Du Pont Circle
LeRoy E. Goodbody.....San Diego
2002 Sixth Ave.
- 24—Glenn S. Dumke.....Los Angeles
1824 Campus Road
- Harrison H. McCall.....
.....South Pasadena
1625 Laurel
- 25—Raymond J. Arbuthnot...La Verne
4300 Emerald Ave.
Thomas W. Bowley.....Whittier
800 Hillside Lane
- 26—McCullah St. Johns....Los Angeles
3106 Watseka
Louis V. Cole.....Los Angeles
1370 East Washington Blvd.
- 27—William E. Walk, Jr.....Ontario
304 Rosewood Court
- John PikeRedlands
1648 Dwight St.
- 28—Mrs. Mary Louise Topper.....
.....Newport Beach
245 Marino Drive
Thomas H. Kuchel.....Anaheim
- 29—John Davis Babbage.....Riverside
3290 Pachappa Drive
Thomas E. Gore.....Riverside
2530 Prince Albert Drive
- 30—William H. Patterson....San Diego
738 Beryl St.
George C. Bond.....La Jolla
603 Bon Air Place

COLORADO

(Eighteen Delegates)

AT LARGE

DELEGATES

- Eugene D. Millikin....Washington, D.C.
Senate Office Building
- Dan ThorntonDenver
State Capitol Building
- Gordon AllottLamar
- Lawrence C. Phipps, Jr.....Denver
Denver Nat'l Bank Building
- David HamilAtwood
- L. M. Pexton.....Denver
110 Gilpin Street
- Robert L. Stearns.....Boulder
- Mrs. Eileen E. Archibold.....Denver
700 Lafayette Street
- James GrovesGrand Junction
- Frank L. Hays, Jr.....Denver
3090 S. Bellaire Street

ALTERNATES

- Mrs. Vera Linger.....Alamosa
- Chas. D. Bromley.....Denver
335 Dahlia Street
- Ralph Sargent, Jr.....Denver
932 S. Columbine
- Oakley Wade.....Las Animas
- Henry L. Larsen.....Denver
836 E. 17th Avenue
- Chas. S. Hill.....Denver
5310 E. 17th Ave. Parkway
- Mrs. H. K. Bailey.....Hayden
- Geo. J. Robinson.....Denver
7314 West Colfax
- Stuart McLaughlin.....Rangely
- Ernest WeinlandLoveland

DISTRICT

- 1—Will F. Nicholson.....Denver
655 Vine Street
- Mrs. Kathleen Wortz.....Denver
1178 South Cook Street
- 2—Arthur C. Sheely.....Fort Collins
1415 So. College Avenue
- Harry W. Farr.....Greeley
1550 Lakeside Drive
- 3—George A. Unfug.....Pueblo
Colorado Building
- Robert S. Gast.....Pueblo
Thatcher Building
- 4—Ed DutcherGunnison
- Ralph BurressDurango
- 1—Mrs. Lillian S. Bondurant...Denver
2241 Marion Street
- Harold D. Writer.....Denver
100 High Street
- 2—Cecil P. Lamb.....Brush
321 Everett Street
- Mrs. Pat Eccles.....Lakewood
8029 W. 23rd Street
- 3—David H. Gottlieb.....Trinidad
McCormack B'dg.
- Lee Blackwell.....Canon City
223 N. 9th Street
- 4—Mrs. Marguerite Vorbeck
.....Grand Junction
N. 7th Street
- Mrs. E. H. Divelbiss.....Hotchkiss

Stein: Maybe you could tell me as you look over them who you remember were pro-Nixon people.

Fuller: [Mrs. Fuller reviews list of Warren delegates] Well, of course, there's Senator Nixon himself. Jack Drown was definitely a Nixon-- well, he was a very close friend of Nixon. John Krehbiel, K-r-e-h-b-i-e-l, and Ronald Button might have leaned toward Nixon, but I wouldn't be too sure. Now, Pat Hillings, yes you've got RN there.*

In the alternates: Frank Jorgensen. I don't know. There are some that I know and know of, but I don't know whether they would necessarily be violently pro-Nixon. Willard Keith and Leonard Firestone might've been. Frank Jorgensen might've been. Preston Hotchkis, I doubt that he would've.

Stein: What about Joe Holt? I don't even know if his name is on the list.

Fuller: I think I did see it. Pat Hillings and Joe Holt were very close at that time. I don't think Joe Holt is on this list. He was on the '48 delegation, nearly drove me nuts!

Stein: Why?

Fuller: The baker who's on here. Oh, dear. I was sure I saw his name here. A very fine old man, Southern California, Paul Helms, the Helms Bakery. In Los Angeles the Helms Bakery whistle is known all over town. These are the bread trucks--and pastries--and they used to go all over town. It's a very distinctive whistle. You can hear it a block away. Their whistle is about six inches long and they're quite piercing.

Dear Paul Helms must've brought a hundred of those darned whistles to the conventions. If you were sitting near anyone who blew one, your eardrums were shattered. Joe Holt was the darndest whistle blower I ever did hear. He just would not shut up with his darned whistle. We loved Paul Helms. He was a very fine man, but those darned whistles, I don't think they did us any good.

[Tape off for interview break]

*Refers to the notation of Richard Nixon's initials next to those names on the list who supported Nixon, rather than Warren.

Fuller: So, it would be very difficult for me to say whether this alternate group was stacked for Nixon, but I haven't a doubt in the world that Senator Knowland and Senator Nixon did exert a lot of pressure in the back room to have Nixon nominated as vice-president.

Stein: You think Senator Knowland was a part of it?

Fuller: I think so. I think the machinations that probably went on were that if Warren would step aside as a potential vice-presidential candidate, that he would receive a cabinet post, which he ultimately received, a Court post. There may have been some of these--

Stein: What led you to that impression that that sort of deal was made? Conversations with other delegates?

Fuller: Yes. You always look at things in a practical way of what probably happened. You see, so many of these people had long been up in the top ranks of the Republican organization. I will say truthfully, sitting not in the delegate section but in the back of the auditorium, I was a little surprised when the word was passed around to the California people that Nixon's name was going to be put up for vice-president because I really thought it would be Warren.

Stein: Was your feeling when you went that Warren was going as a serious contender for president?

Fuller: This was against Eisenhower?

Stein: Yes. There are some people who suggest that he was just a front for Eisenhower, that the delegates who were going to vote for him would really have voted for Eisenhower once he released them.

Fuller: I think that's a pretty fair assumption. Now, Charlie Thomas, from my own personal knowledge, was a very ardent Eisenhower man. He later became Secretary of the Navy.

Stein: Yes. You've mentioned him before.

Fuller: I know he was a very strong Eisenhower man. Now, this is funny. Thomas Joseph Mellon, isn't he the CAO [Chief Administrative Officer] of the city of San Francisco?

Stein: Yes.

Fuller: I thought he was a Democrat.

Stein: Evidently in 1952 he was a Republican.

Fuller: He was a Republican. He could be a Republican. I think he is one of the handsomest men, at his age.

Stein: Yes.

Fuller: He could've been a Republican because you see we did have a Republican mayor, believe it or not, of San Francisco.

Stein: That was George Christopher.

Fuller: Yes. I don't know just when Tom Mellon was appointed CAO.

Stein: And, of course, it's a non-partisan post presumably.

Fuller: Presumably, but you would not get a Democrat mayor in present day politics appointing a CAO of the opposite party, although we may be surprised with whoever comes up.*

Women on the Delegation

Stein: Do you want to comment at all on any of the women in the delegation?

Fuller: Well, let's see. We have Marjorie Benedict, and you know about her. Winifred Noyes was active in the federation. She was from Northern California someplace. I don't know exactly where. I'd rather comment about the men. [Laughter] Florence Doe had been president of the central division of the federation.

Stein: She was from Visalia, wasn't she?

Fuller: Yes, somewhere around in that area. Edith Lehman was from Southern California and she was a member of the federation and also a member of the state central committee. She was a very active little gal.

Margaret Martin Brock: I have mentioned her before. She's the wife of the man who owns Brock Jewelry Company which is the big jewelry store in Los Angeles. She's been on the delegation ever since they had delegations, I guess.

*At the time of this interview, San Francisco Mayor George Moscone was in the process of choosing a successor to Mellon, who was about to retire.

Stein: She was on the delegation this year.

Fuller: Yes. Gladys O'Donnell we've spoken of. Dorothy Goodknight we've spoken of. Mrs. Margaret H. Malone, I do not know her. Mary Woolley was a young woman whose father was a very prominent attorney. Mary was not what you'd say physically attractive. She was large and rather buxom, but boy she was an ardent Republican. She'd just work her fool head off. She came from North Hollywood.

Then you've got Catherine Mitchem. The name strikes a slight bell, but I can't tell you anything about her. Mildred Younger, of course, you know. Barbara Heigho was a great gal with a great deal of enthusiasm. She came from the San Bernardino area. She was full of pep and had more fun than anybody else, I think. Patricia Connich, I've spoken of her before. Irene Dunne was put on as a movie name. She had been an alternate in the previous convention.

Stein: That, I think, gives us a total of ten or eleven women delegates and two alternates. I wondered why there were so few women.

Fuller: I don't know. It was about the usual proportion.

Stein: Someone offered an explanation that it wasn't so much that there weren't women available but that it was a prestige thing for men to be on a delegation and it was less important prestige-wise for women.

Fuller: Yes, I would say that might be so because you find here among the men a predominance of attorneys and attorneys always want to be associated with--attorneys and some state legislators or those who aspired to perhaps run for a public office at a future time.

[end side 2, tape 1]

[begin tape 2, side 1]

Stein: In addition to the women on that list there were a number of other women who went to Chicago on the campaign train. One of them was Mildred Biddick.

Fuller: Yes, Mildred Biddick was always very active in the [California] Republican Assembly. She didn't belong to the federation. She was a fine woman. There were some of the women in political activity who preferred to be a part of the Republican Assembly which was primarily men and I'd say one third women, but they were mostly men.

Stein: Why would they prefer that?

Fuller: I think they enjoyed the association with men. Because they were fewer in number, they usually held an office or two and got a little more recognition. Mildred Biddick was an excellent worker.

Stein: Was she on any of the central committees?

Fuller: Yes.

Passengers on the Campaign Train

Stein: Ysabel Forker: did you know her?

Fuller: I know the name but I can't really recall anything.

Stein: She was active in the federation, according to my notes.

Fuller: Ysabel Forker. She came from Central California. I did not know her well. Jean Haley was another one of the women--you know, I do believe, going back on the train bit--I know I flew.

[Mrs. Fuller reviews list of passengers on campaign train] Florence Doe was active in the federation. Mr. and Mrs. Grant Erlich, they were from Santa Barbara. Mr. and Mrs. Gillis, now they were from Long Beach and Mr. and Mrs. Goodknight were from Long Beach. Carl Greenberg was a newspaperman, a very good newspaperman. Jean Haley.

Chet Huntley! You know, Chet Huntley started out in radio and TV in Southern California. Edna Kasch, a darling woman from Ukiah. She lives down in the Carmel area now. Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Knowland--Joseph R. and Joseph W. Mrs. William (Helen) Knowland, I loved her. And Estelle. Mr. and Mrs. John Krehbiel. Helen MacGregor, of course, was Warren's secretary. Mr. and Mrs. Stephen Malatesta, he was the mayor of San Leandro for years and years and years. Do you remember the story I told you about sitting on some man's knee while we did a tape recording (and ate cheese and crackers)?

Stein: Oh, yes.

Fuller: Okay. There's his last name. Joe Miccichi. Joe Miccichi. Joe Miccichi was more fun. He was a broadcaster in Los Angeles and always on election night down at the City Hall he was the one who gave all the returns. We listed to Joe Miccichi all night long. Emily Pike. James Quinn was a member of the State Board of Equalization. Inez Robie, a darling woman from up in Auburn.

Stein: Was she active in the federation?

Fuller: Oh, yes. She was also on the state central committee.

Stein: How about the Republican Assembly?

Fuller: I don't believe she was.

Stein: Someone has characterized her as being somewhat conservative in line with Mildred Prince.

Fuller: Inez Robie?

Stein: Yes.

Fuller: I wouldn't think so. I would call her a moderate conservative as I call myself a moderate conservative. Mary Louise Topper, she was a Young Republican who I put on my board. You were asking me about the School of Politics. When it started in a small way out in the San Fernando Valley, she was the gal who spearheaded it. Jane Zimmerman, she's a San Francisco gal.

Stein: Yes, I think so too. Did you know much about what happened on the campaign train? Did you hear any stories after you got to Chicago?

Fuller: No, no.

Stein: You yourself flew, you said.

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: Did you pay your own way?

Fuller: Yes.

At the Convention

Stein: How much did you have to do with the delegation once you got there? Did you stay with them?

Fuller: Yes, I stayed with them, that is, in the same hotel. Oh, I was always welcome. They'd always let me know when they were going to have a caucus or anything like that down in the ballroom. So, I felt a part

Fuller: of the delegation, though I was not so officially. When we rode the buses from the hotel out to the stockyards I always went with them.

Stein: So, you went to the caucuses then.

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: I gather that there was quite a hectic caucus on the fair play resolution. Do you remember that?

Fuller: No, I don't. I don't understand that one.

Stein: It was a very complicated issue that had to do with the seating of some contested delegates from the South and whether those delegates could be allowed to vote on whether the other contested delegates could have their seats. What it really was, as far as I can see, was a contest between the Taft people and the Eisenhower people.

Fuller: Yes, that's right. I think it was Louisiana. That came up before the credentials committee and I wasn't in on it so I didn't know about it. As I recall, the Eisenhower side won.

Stein: Yes. From what I've read it sounded as though that was the turning point at which it was clear that Eisenhower had the upper hand.

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: Did you also meet with any federation women? Were there any federation caucuses during the convention?

Fuller: No, there weren't.

Stein: How about Mildred Younger's fight on the platform committee? Did you hear anything about that from her?

Fuller: Not that I recall. Probably just have to rely on her report to you.

Stein: How did the '52 convention compare to the one in '48?

Fuller: Just about the same. Just about the same. Of course not being seated up with the delegates, it wasn't quite as interesting to me, but it was extremely interesting.

- Stein: Was it any more tumultuous? I've read reports about it in Newsweek magazine which made it sound as if there was quite a bit of conflict.* The convention even booed Governor Dewey.
- Fuller: Yes, I recall that. That embarrassed me. Wasn't it [Everett] Dirksen who said something very dramatic? Of course, I had loved old Dirksen but I was embarrassed by that.
- Stein: Here's the Newsweek picture of Jack Porter of Houston fighting off hecklers.** Evidently police were required at one of the meetings to clear the aisles. Do you remember that?
- Fuller: No. Oh, they were always calling the sergeants-at-arms to clear the aisles.
- Stein: It sounds like the 1976 convention.
- Fuller: Oh! Both the Democrats and the Republicans were very calm in 1976 compared to the conventions I attended.
- Stein: Really?
- Fuller: Oh, yes, because people were constantly milling around. But, then when a nomination was made for a particular candidate, they would try to outdo each other in these aisle demonstrations. Now, both the Republicans and Democrats didn't allow that this year and I'm glad to see they didn't because those darned demonstrations, you'd just try to make yours last one minute longer than the last fellow's. It was very exhausting and time consuming and as far as television coverage, I'm sure it would be pretty boring to most of the people at home.
- [Mrs. Fuller looks at article about convention in Newsweek, July 14, 1952, pp. 21-23]
- Stein: Is there anything else we should say about the convention?

*Newsweek, 7/14/52, pp. 21-23; 7/21/52, pp. 21-34.

**Newsweek, 7/14/52, p. 23.

The Campaign

Fuller: [Referring to interview outline] This is an interesting comment. "One writer, describing the increased role of women in the '52 campaign, said the state of California was blanketed by a telephone chain organized by three hundred CFRW [California Federation of Republican Women] women under the guidance of the indefatigable National Committeewoman Marjorie Benedict."

Stein: I put that in there because I wondered if--

Fuller: I don't know about it. That's why I was puzzled by the whole thing. But, Marjorie might well have done such a thing. To my knowledge she did not reach Southern California.

Stein: You mean you didn't have any different telephone campaign than you ordinarily did?

Fuller: No. Women for Eisenhower-Nixon in Southern California. Valley Knudsen was a very, very prominent woman in Southern California who was not particularly identified with the Republican party, although everybody knew she was a Republican. The Knudsen Creamery Co. was very, very well known and Val organized the Women's Division, Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce and brought a lot of prestige and got a lot of things done. She headed City Beautiful campaigns and they planted trees in the downtown area, along the sidewalks. She did a lot of things.

Mrs. Don Belding was a very fine person and her husband, of course, was head of Foote, Cone, & Belding, the big advertising company.

Stein: When you say that Mrs. Knudsen was prominent, do you mean socially prominent?

Fuller: I would say more civically prominent. Socially prominent, too, but social activities were not her particular forte. Civic improvement.

Stein: I found this list of people who were active in Citizens for Eisenhower in '52.

Fuller: [Mrs. Fuller looks at list entitled "Citizens for Eisenhower--1952"] Dave Saunders, yes, he was a prominent attorney. Valley Knudsen. Sidney Laughlin, oh, sure. Sid Laughlin, also an attorney. Erwin Lampe I'm not familiar with. Robert Rowan, the state finance chairman.

CITIZENS FOR EISENHOWER 1952

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Chairman: DAVID G. SAUNDERS *Aug 8-1916*
 458 So. Spring Street
 Los Angeles 13, California
 MI 6-0671

Co-Chairman: MRS. T. R. KNUDSEN
 3034 Edgewick Road
 Glendale, California
 CI 1-9383

Secretary: H. SIDNEY LAUGHLIN
 433 So. Spring Street
 Los Angeles 13, California
 MI 8358

Treasurer: ERWIN LAMPE
 942 N. Mariposa Avenue
 Los Angeles 29, California
 NO 3-4792

Committee Finance Chairman: ROBERT A. ROWAN
 458 So. Spring Street
 Los Angeles 13, California
 TR 0331 C 131

Chairman Congressional
 Activation Committee
 Chairman Group D ROY DAY
 P-B Press, Inc.
 320 Thomas Street
 Pomona, California
 Lycoming 9-5221

Co-Chairman Congressional
 Activation Committee MRS. FRANK H. COWGILL
 361 No. Bowling Green
 Los Angeles 49, California
 AR 3-6194

Chairman Group A RODNEY ROOD
 555 So. Flower Street
 Los Angeles 17, California
 MA 9-4111 Ext. 7437

Co-Chairman Group A: MRS. MAYNARD TOLL
 414 So. Irving
 Los Angeles 5, California
 WA 1597

Chairman Group B JAMES M. REYNOLDS
 4331 Chula Senda Lane
 Pasadena, California
 SY 3-5972

Co-Chairman Group B: MRS. H. H. SHIELDS
 435 So. Curson
 Los Angeles 36, California
 WE 1-3211

Chairman Group C: JACK DROWN
 1247 West First Street
 Long Beach 2, California
 669149

Co-Chairman Group C: MRS. DEBORAH FORT
 243 Donslow
 Los Angeles 49, California
 BR 0-4011

	WALLACE BUTLER 458 So. Spring Street Los Angeles 13, California TU 7824
Chairman Lawyers' Committee:	WILLIAM P. GRAY 458 So. Spring Street Los Angeles 13, California MA 6-1252
Chairman Volunteer Office Staff	MRS. DOROTHY E. KELLEY 11445 Albata Street Los Angeles 49, California AR 8-4198
Chairman Veterans' Committee:	BROOKS TERRY Box #107 Whittier OX 4-7396
Chairman Precinct Education & Direction:	GLENDON TREMAINE 458 So. Spring Street Los Angeles 13, California MA 6-0671
Executive Director:	MRS. PEGGY FISHER 458 So. Spring Street Los Angeles 13, California MA 6-5978
TV and Radio Director:	TALBOT JOHNS 6119 Selma Hollywood 28, California

Fuller: The Rowan family has been in California since the Indians, I guess. They owned half of the downtown Spring Street in Los Angeles at one time. Roy Day, now he was always an ardent Nixon supporter. He was a printer, not a publisher. Mrs. Frank Cowgill, a darling person, quite active in Pro-America. Rodney Rood, Mrs. Maynard Toll, Jim Reynolds--he was a young man, good organizer--Mrs. H.H. Shields. Jack Drown--lists him as Long Beach but he lived over in Palos Verdes but he was a personal friend of Nixon's. Deborah Fort, Deborah Fort, can't think who she was. Wally Butler, William P. Grey, Dorothy Kelley, Brooks Terry, Glenn Tremaine.

Stein: Were these all people you knew?

Fuller: Yes. It's a good cross section of Southern California leadership, Los Angeles leadership.

Stein: Were those mostly Nixon people or were they Warren people or--

Fuller: Remember now we're running on an Eisenhower-Nixon ticket, so they're pretty well mixed up. Jack Drown was an even more ardent supporter.

Stein: I noticed, for instance, an article in the paper recently about the [Gerald] Ford-for-president committee for California, that they were very careful to have Ford people and Reagan people on the committee.* I wondered if that was operating here also, if they were trying to cover all the bases.

Fuller: Yes, I think so. It's only logical. I had not seen that list. I'd be interested to see who's on it. When you're establishing a campaign organization you do try to get a good cross section and it would be only logical to have some good Reagan supporters on the Ford ticket after Ford won the nomination.

There you see, in contrast, the Democrat campaign up here is in rather total confusion, here in California at the present time, because [Governor Jerry] Brown is not showing the leadership or interest that he might be. Really nobody knows who's the head of the organization. But, if you're going to run a campaign you've got to think a whole cross section of things, all facets of the party.

*Gerald Ford and Ronald Reagan (a former California governor) had opposed each other in the 1976 Republican primaries. Ford, the victor, was defeated at the polls in November by Democrat Jimmy Carter.

Fuller: Religious affiliations are not as important in California as they are in some of the Eastern states. I know in the East--well, I was quite surprised. The first big conference I put on in Washington, D.C. after I was with the federal government and was setting up the program. Katherine Howard, who was my good mentor and advisor--we were talking about chaplains to give the invocations and the benedictions. Being Protestant I just naturally think Protestant and yet I knew that we would have a rabbi and I'd have to find a good rabbi. Katherine came in and she said, "But, Jean, you don't have a Catholic." I said, "Is that necessary?" She said, "Jean, if you came from Boston you'd know it was necessary." Katherine herself was Protestant. Always I remembered after that that I had to have a good Catholic there someplace.

Stein: But that was less true in California?

Fuller: Yes, but you do try to get a cross section. You do find though that you depend on the leadership of business and there's always a predominance of attorneys.

Stein: What was your role in the campaign?

Fuller: Of '52?

Stein: Yes, once you got back from the convention.

Fuller: Just to support the party and get Eisenhower elected and do anything we could to get him elected. I think you may recall the little story I told you about the Eisenhower birthday party.

The Eisenhower Birthday Parties

Stein: Yes, I don't know that we have that on tape, so maybe you better tell that story again.

Fuller: The Eisenhower headquarters was established on Wilshire Boulevard, very excellent location. Somebody had donated a storefront space in a nice building.

I thought a couple of weeks ahead, "Oh, Eisenhower's birthday is coming up." So, I spoke to three or four of my good friends and I said, "Let's get an Eisenhower birthday party going." We all chipped in a little money to buy the biggest cake that our money could afford for the Eisenhower birthday party and invited everybody to the headquarters. We

Fuller: got some very good publicity on it because we think it was the first Eisenhower birthday party that was given in the United States. When we reported it to the national federation they said it had not been done anyplace else. They were all regretful that they hadn't thought of doing the same thing. We should have made it a national thing. We made a little wave or two with it in Los Angeles.

Stein: Were the Eisenhower birthdays repeated later?

Fuller: Yes, in later years too. Then, the clubs always took it up and October 16, I believe is the date, they always had an Eisenhower birthday recognition of some kind. Their October meeting would be a festive occasion for that reason.

Stein: I remember you showed me a newspaper clipping about that first birthday party and your money bought quite a cake, as I remember!
[Laughter]

Fuller: We probably got it at Helms Bakery at a great discount. You could go to Paul Helms for anything and you'd get most anything. I think we had about \$10 and I just called the Helms. Mr. Helms' secretary took care of it. I told her what I wanted. I said, "I want the biggest cake my \$10 will buy for an Eisenhower birthday party and we're going to have it at the headquarters." They delivered it.

Stein: I remember it looked like an enormous wedding cake, sort of a tiered affair.

Fuller: Wedding cake, yes! Dear old Paul Helms. If you were having any kind of a Republican gathering and you wanted cupcakes or doughnuts or something or other--we tried not to impose on him too much, but absolutely nothing would stop that man. So, whatever you asked him for, you got. If you needed five hundred doughnuts, you got five hundred doughnuts.

Of course, Paul Helms was also very active in the International Olympics Committee and he was world renowned for his generosity to the Olympics program. I'm not sure but I suspect--I don't know though if he was that old--but I suspect that he had a good deal to do with bringing the Olympics to Los Angeles, when we built the Los Angeles Coliseum.

Stein: When was that? What decade?

Fuller: What decade. It could've been 1920 or 1924.

Stein: Back then.

Fuller: Yes. Oh, it was a big deal. You know, the summer Olympics of whatever year that was. It must've been 1920. I guess Paul Helms didn't bring it because he would've been too young a man then, because I was a kid in school. But anyway, a most generous man.

The 1952 Inauguration

Stein: I noticed in the scrapbook that you had invitations to both the 1952 and the '56 inaugural balls.

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: Did you go in '52?

Fuller: I went in '52, yes.

Stein: Just tell me a little bit about what the ball was like.

Fuller: The inaugural ball. It was so large it had to be in two sections. One section was at the armory, but the main portion was someplace else. Don't ask me what hall it was in Washington, D.C. It was very lovely.

They had, I suppose, Manny Herman's band. He always plays in Washington, D.C. The orchestra was on the south side and they had boxes--mezzanine type boxes--on the north side. It was a huge ballroom and, of course, the main one was saved for the President and Mrs. Eisenhower and the next one for Vice-President Nixon and Mrs. Nixon. Some of the others were filled with the inaugural ceremony officials, some of the bigwigs of Washington, D.C. who had sponsored the affair. The ball was a very lovely affair.

Gladys Penland went, too, and she and I roomed together. We had no male escorts so we didn't do too much dancing, but it was just perfectly lovely to watch those who did dance. Nobody danced until the President and Mamie got there. She was in a gorgeous pink, crystal beaded gown that was lovely. I forget what Pat Nixon had on.

The one thing about the inauguration that impressed me perhaps much more than the ball--the inauguration ceremony itself was lovely out on the east side of the Capitol. It was cold weather. They had a

Fuller: beautiful parade, parts of which I'll never forget. There were a lot of military bands and horse drawn vehicles that were decorated beautifully. Schools from all over Maryland and that area participated with marching units.

The one that stands out in my mind more than any other was a group of girls who had on black pleated skirts and white midi blouses and they were all black girls. It was before desegregation. These girls marched without music. Of course, their black legs and then they all had white shoes, or I guess they had on dark brown stockings or something. They marched in absolute silence, the most graceful group I have ever seen. They just looked like young deer walking down the street. They were so well trained.

Most marching units have a band with them to keep the cadence. They had, I guess you'd call it a drill master, who walked at the upper corner with them. I suppose they were following her. It was absolutely flawless and they were just fluid as they marched down and it really was beautiful.

Stein: It sounds lovely.

Fuller: It really was. Of the youth groups who participated in it, to me they were the most impressive.

The Republican State Central Committee, 1952

Stein: Let's move on to the Republican party. I have a few names of Republican party officials in California and actually we've probably talked about all of them. That was the year that Mildred Younger became vice-chairman of the southern division of the--

Fuller: State central committee.

Stein: Of the state central committee, which I gather Mrs. Edith Lehman was also in the running for, but she withdrew?

Fuller: She probably withdrew because--was that '52?

Stein: Yes.

Fuller: Yes, she withdrew. She knew she didn't have the votes.

REPUBLICAN STATE AND NATIONAL OFFICERS

	1938	1940	1942	1944	1946	1948	1950	1952
National Committeemen		Wm. Knowland		Raymond Height (1944-47) (died in office)		McIntyre Farlee (1947-52)		
National Committeewomen		Edith Vandewater (1932-44)		Jessie Williamson (1944-48)		Marjorie Benedict (1948-60)		
State Chairman		Thomas Kuchel (L.A.)	Edward H. Tickle (Carmel)	Leo Anderson (L.A.)	A.W. Carlson (Oakland)	Edw. Shattuck (L.A.)-1950 Phillip Boyd Will. F. Rich (Yuba City) 2nd-Walt. Fort (Ventura) Paul Helms (L.A.) William O'Brien (S.F.)	T.H. De Lap (Richmond) Laughlin Waters (L.A.)	Laughlin Waters (L.A.)
State Vice- Chairman N/S					Edw. Shattuck (L.A.)	Laughlin Waters (L.A.)		T. Caldecott (Oakland)
State Treasurer						A. Ronald Sutton (Hollywood) Arthur Dolen, Jr. asst. (S.F.)		A. Ronald Sutton (Hollywood) Arthur Dolen, Jr., asst. (S.F.)
State Secretary			Herbert Scudder (Sebastopol)	Clarence Ward (S. Barbara)	Wm. O'Brien (S.F.)	Raymond Blosser (S.F.)	Lloyd Hernieh (Fresno) Mrs. William Sifford asst. (Ventura)	Alvin F. Durre (S.F.) Irene Kerrigan, asst. (Whittier)
Vice Chairman North					Mrs. A.M. Robertson (Secto)	Marjorie Benedict (Berkeley)	Pat. Connich (S.F.)	Patricia Connich (S.F.)
Vice Chairman Central					Alberta Dunkel (Fresno)	Kath. Brown (Stockton)	Florence Doe (Visalia)	Florence Doe (Visalia)
Vice Chairman South					Geraldine Hadsell (L.A.)	Marjorie Brock (L.A.)	Edith Lehman (L.A.)	Mildred Younger (Pasadena)
Senate (Seat A)		Niren Johnson (1916-45)		Wm. Knowland (apptd. 1945-58)				
Senate (Seat B)		Thomas Storke (apptd.) Sheridan Downey (1938-50)					R. Nixon (1950-52)	Kuchel (1952-68) (Warren apptd.)
President Pro Tem (Senate)		Jerrold L. Seawell (1939) (R)	William F. Rich (1941) (R)	J.L. Seawell (1943) (R)	H.J. Powers (1947) (R)			
Speaker of Assembly		Paul Peck (D) (1939)	G.H. Garland (1940) (D)	C.W. Lyon (1943) (R)	S.L. Collins (1947) (R)			
Governor		Culbert Olson (1938-42) (Gov. F. Merriam, C. Hatfield, R)	Earl Warren (1942-53) (C. Olson, D)		Warren (R. Kenny, D)		Warren (J. Roosevelt, D)	
Republican Nat'l Chairman		John Hamilton (Kans.) (1936-40)	Joe W. Martin, Harrison E. Jr. (Mass) (1940-42)	Spangler (Iowa) (1942-44)	Herbert Brownell, Jr. (N.Y.) (1944-46)	Carroll Reece (Tenn) (1946-48) Hugh D. Scott, Jr. (Pa.) (1948-49)	Guy G. Gabrielson (N.J.) (1949-52)	Arthur E. Summerfield (Mich.) (1952-53) C. Wesley Roberts (Kans.) (1953) Leonard W. Hall (N.Y.) (1953-57)
President		F. Roosevelt (1932-45) (W. Wilkie, R)		F. Roosevelt (T. Dewey, R)		H. Truman (T. Dewey, R) (H. Wallace, 1PP)		D. Eisenhower (1952-60) (E. Warren, T. Werdell, R) (A. Stevenson,

Stein: Did you play any role in that election?

Fuller: I was for Mildred Younger.

Stein: You were on the state central committee then?

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: Who would put her up for nomination or how would that work?

Fuller: Usually they have a nominating committee of the Committee of the Whole and they would put up a slate of officers. Then as each one's name is announced you could nominate from the floor. Edith Lehman was nominated from the floor. Then by the time you go through all the nominations, there's a recess and much pow-wow and everything like that. Edith Lehman was a good friend of mine and I told her and I'm sure probably others did too, "Kiddo, you just don't have the votes. So, why be defeated?" That's when she withdrew.

Stein: In that year Laughlin E. Waters was elected chairman of the state central committee. Is that correct?

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: We may have mentioned him before, but is there anything that you want to say about him?

Fuller: "Lock" (Laughlin) Waters was a very fine young attorney. He had a brother who was also very prominent. Lock was very closely associated with Frank P. Doherty. Frank P. Doherty was one of the deans of the law group in Southern California and headed an organization whose name I cannot recall, but they raised money for candidates to the state assembly and the senate. They stuck strictly to the state political-- and if you recall in the 1948 convention Frank P. Doherty was my alternate which to me was rather amusing because he was one of the smartest men in Southern California and I loved him dearly.

Lock Waters was just a good, hard-working young attorney and young republican, was always there and on the job. He ultimately became U.S. Attorney for Southern California.

Stein: You mentioned before that Tom Caldecott, who was vice-chairman of the party, later became a judge in Alameda County.

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: Did you know him well?

Fuller: Yes; he was a very, very nice man. First, Tom was elected to the state assembly. I think he was from Berkeley or Oakland. Red-headed, freckled face, tall chap, just as nice as could be, Tom Sawyer grown up. I don't know if he ran for the senate or not. I'm not at all sure, but he was ultimately appointed to the judgeship and I assume it was by Goodwin Knight. I think it must have been by Goodwin Knight.

Later he married and I saw his picture, he and his bride, in the Oakland Tribune. That was when I lived in Oakland. She looked just as sweet and attractive as could be. He waited a long time to get married, but I think he must've gotten a very, very nice wife. He was a fine young man. He was younger than most of the legislators when he first went into the state legislature but smart, quiet, but very effective.

Stein: We've already really talked about the three women's vice-chairmen. Ronald Button was the party treasurer.

Fuller: Yes. Ron was a very good businessman. Dear me, I wonder how he did in this last flood. [Mid-September 1976 freak rainstorm and flood in Southern California.] He was in real estate and development and sort of a pioneer down in the desert.

When Palm Springs was a small village he started a tract down south of Palm Springs called Rancho Mirage. It was quite a venture. It stood out there like a sore thumb in the desert when it first got started. It was a big gamble. My goodness, my friend Wes Peckham was offered a lot in Rancho Mirage for \$700 and being an old ultra conservative, he couldn't see it for that. Nothing but a bunch of sandpiles. Why, you couldn't buy it for \$70,000 now probably.

Ron Button and his wife were very nice people and he was a very well respected businessman. They were very well liked socially.

Stein: As treasurer would he have been mostly concerned with fund-raising?

Fuller: In the state central committee you don't raise money per se, other than for operation of your state central committee functions. Yes, he would, but there would be other people who would be more in fund-raising.

He would just be in charge of seeing that the moneys were accounted for properly and bills paid properly and things like that. Wherever we had a state central committee headquarters--now we had one in Los Angeles and they had one in San Francisco--why there are always office expense and things like that. But not so much for campaign expenditures.

Stein: The central committee then itself didn't get involved in actual campaigning.

Fuller: Not so much. It does in a certain way, in a limited way, let's say. But usually a candidate has his own campaign committee and fund-raising. Recently I received a letter from the Sonoma State Central Committee headquartered here in Santa Rosa asking for funds. A \$5, \$10, \$15 contribution helps them to keep their headquarters going in order to keep an executive director in there and whatnot like that. If they raise sufficient money then they can contribute to a candidate who has won in the primary.

Stein: But the candidate would rely primarily on his own organization to raise money.

Fuller: Yes, usually. The central committees don't have much in the way of funds other than to keep an office going.

Stein: The secretary in that year was Alvin F. Derre, D-e-r-r-e?

Fuller: Al Derre. Al Derre. He was from San Francisco. Very nice man. I didn't know him personally very well, other than just seeing and chatting with him at state central committee meetings. I don't know what he does in San Francisco, whether he's an attorney or just what he is, but he was always very well liked.

Stein: You mentioned before Irma Kerrigan was assistant secretary.

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: Did you know her?

Fuller: I knew her and I'm blank. I can't identify where she was from or what her particular affiliations were. Nice girl, tall, slender, dark haired girl, but I can't give you any other information.

The Tom Kuchel Campaign, 1954

Stein: Let's move on to 1954. I think we've already talked about that convention in Los Angeles of the national federation that President Eisenhower spoke at. So, I think we can skip right along to the Tom Kuchel campaign. You mentioned that you were involved in that.

Fuller: Yes, I was. Tom Kuchel's Southern California headquarters were set up in the Alexandria Hotel. That's the first time I worked professionally. I mean the first time I ever got paid. So, I was there. I was involved in setting up women's committees and some professional committees for Tom Kuchel. That was my primary function.

One little sidelight: Tom Kuchel's name was not too well known even though he had been state controller. People didn't know how to pronounce it. It would be Kooockle or Kuckle or something like that.

[end side 1, tape 2]

[begin tape 2, side 2]

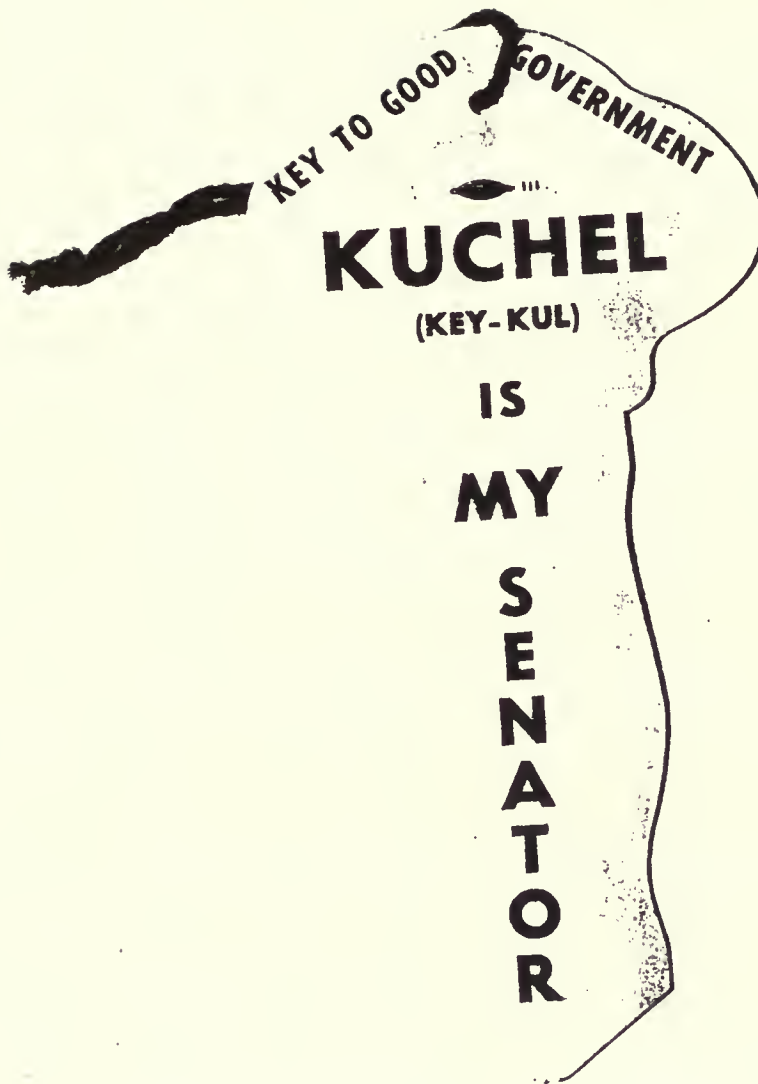
Fuller: So I said, "Let's try and develop something that will help people to say his name correctly." I designed a key, like a door key, only about three and a half inches long. It said on it, "I'm voting for KEY-KUL." It went over quite well. We had some made out of metal that could be put in a man's coat buttonhole. Then we had some made with a little string attached that a woman could attach onto a button or something or other like that. It was a method of identifying the name because people just did have a struggle with his name.

I think I mentioned to you that when I was southern division president I needed a speaker for a very large convention meeting. Did I tell you about it?

Stein: Yes, but I think we ought to get it on tape.

Fuller: All right. I needed a speaker and I wanted someone of prominence so I called Mr. Kuchel, who was then controller in Sacramento, and asked him if he would come down to speak at this big luncheon meeting at the Biltmore Hotel. He said he'd be delighted to do so. I told him the approximate number that I thought would be there. I told him about 350. It got to be much larger than that.

At the luncheon, when he was sitting beside me, he said, "Well, Jean, I'm just a little curious why you asked me." I said, "Well, Mr. Kuchel, I just got to thinking we have a senatorial campaign coming up and nobody has been mentioning a Republican name to my satisfaction. Though it's a year away, I thought it would be good to expose you to the women I know at this meeting. We don't have to say anything about any possibility of you running for Senate. If you do or if you don't makes no difference." I said, "That was my reason for inviting you."



Fuller: He always remembered that because I do believe that up to that time, at least I had not heard of it, he had not even been mentioned for Senator, but I put the bug in his ear and we ultimately won.

Stein: So, in your own way, you played a key role in his career.

Fuller: I thought he had a very fine record and had done a very fine job as controller. He wasn't the greatest public speaker in the whole wide world. He was terrifically serious. We sometimes would kid him and try to get him to get a little levity into his speeches, but that was just the way he was. He was very serious about everything and everything he did was very serious. He made an excellent Senator. He did a fine job. I think it was most unfortunate he was ultimately defeated.

Stein: Who else worked on the campaign with you? Who were some of the other paid professionals?

Fuller: Mildred Biddick. We mentioned she belonged to the [Republican] Assembly. Mildred always worked professionally in campaigns. She was a good office manager. Very fine gal. There was a man named Haas who was from Sacramento. I can't think of his first name. Pop [Merrill F. Small] would know. He came down as Tom Kuchel's personal representative to see that everything sort of went along as it should in Southern California. That was about the extent of the paid staff.

Stein: Was the work that you did as a paid staff member any different than work you had done earlier in campaigns?

Fuller: No, not really. Only by this time I had gotten my divorce and I needed to earn a living.

Stein: I know that Lee Sherry Smith was active in later campaigns. Was she at all involved in this one, do you know?

Fuller: The name doesn't ring a bell at all.

Stein: She was in Northern California.

Fuller: You know, actually, in any statewide campaign you set up two separate-- and sometimes three, taking central California--but usually at least two separate campaign organizations.

I remember Tom Mellon being very prominent in the Kuchel campaign. He was one of Senator Kuchel's very ardent supporters. It was a real feather in the campaign's hat, you might say, to have Tom Mellon be on the Kuchel committee, and he was.

Glenn Ames's Career

Stein: You mentioned that there were other campaigns that you had been involved in. You helped Glenn Ames get a start. I wondered what the story was there.

Fuller: Actually, Glenn never ran for office. Glenn Ames was a lieutenant-colonel in the Korean War--reserve type. He came to Encino, where I lived, and established a law office with a partner, MacGee. I tried to get a Young Republican group started and it was unsuccessful in the little community of Encino. But anyway, there was a notice in the paper that there would be a Young Republican meeting. Glenn Ames showed up at my door. I had never seen him or even heard of him yet. At that time he introduced himself and he was a perfect gentleman.

Later on when I was running, or supervising let's say, an office for the county central committee in Sherman Oaks--a young attorney getting started in practice has sometimes a difficult time. His wife, June Ames, was available and she used to work for peanuts, and come and be part-time secretary there in the office. I got quite well acquainted with her.

Any time that I could, and a club wanted a speaker, I would suggest Glenn Ames. He would go most anyplace around the valley or into Los Angeles. Such a fine looking young man and an excellent speaker, he was very pleased to have the exposure. So, I always felt a little responsible. I suppose he would have made it on his own, but I helped him get his start there. Later he was my attorney when my dad passed away.

In later years when I went with the Sixth U.S. Army at the Presidio I was very pleased--I should say this, that he had always kept up his reserve work, U.S. Army Reserve, and he had gone up in rank in that til he became a brigadier general. When Ronald Reagan was elected governor of the state, he appointed the Adjutant General of the Reserve Forces. Well, it really calls for a major general and not a brigadier general and so some strings were pulled in Washington and all of a sudden Glenn Ames became a major general and became head of the state military forces in California.

It always gave me a great deal of pleasure whenever we were having a conference at the headquarters at the Presidio--I'd always be involved one way or another in those conferences--and dear Glenn, when it was his time to get up and speak, I'd be probably the only woman in the room. The front rows were all lined with generals and then colonels and then Jean in the back row. He'd always stand up and he'd say, "Gentlemen, and Mrs. Fuller." [Laughter]

Fuller: I always remember General Stanley R. Larsen, who was a dear. The first time Glenn did it, why General Larsen's head nearly snapped off. He turned around to see who Mrs. Fuller was. I became very, very good friends with General Larsen and his wife later on, but I think it was sort of a shocker to the general right at that particular point. [Laughter] Now, of course, with the change of state administration, Glenn is no longer the adjutant general.

Some Women Republican Leaders

Stein: There are three other women that I want to ask you about, but I think we've already talked about Carol Arth Waters.

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: Eleanor Erickson is another name that has come up. Do you remember her? She was with San Joaquin Valley Central Committee.

Fuller: Yes. I didn't know her very well. She was on the state central committee, but I really didn't know her.

Stein: Was she of your persuasion in the party?

Fuller: I think so, yes.

Stein: How about Athalie Clark from Irvine.

Fuller: Oh, Athalie Clark was the wife of a judge and Athalie had formerly been married to one of the Irvines who owned nearly all of Orange County. She was a tremendously wealthy woman. Her husband had passed away and she later married Judge Clark. He was a municipal judge at the time. He later became a superior [court] judge. She was a very sweet, lovely, gracious woman.

She was quite good at raising money because her social contacts were among very, very wealthy people. So, in her way she contributed a great deal to the Republican party. If at any time I needed to have a special reception or something for somebody very important, Athalie always stood ready to put on a lovely tea or some such thing as that. She would open her house. She was extremely generous.

Stein: Was she active in the federation?

Fuller: No.

Stein: Just in party affairs.

Fuller: Yes. I would say primarily in the financial area. She was extremely good. They'd put on these big money raising affairs. It used to be \$10 a ticket, you know, for a dinner, tables of ten. She wouldn't sell a single ticket. She would go out to her friends and ask them to buy a table or two tables or three tables. Of course, now those \$10 fund-raising dinners are \$100 dinners and \$500 dinners and things like that.

Athlaie was especially good at that if there was a fund-raising event. She did the same sorts of things for other organizations. She was very prominent socially.

I'm not just too sure whether she was involved with Children's Hospital or the Hollywood Bowl or things like--civic things, civic and cultural things.

IV FEDERAL CIVIL DEFENSE ADMINISTRATION: DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S
ACTIVITIES, 1954-1958

Appointment

Stein: I think we're ready to move on to your transition to federal office.

Fuller: All right. My name had been proposed to both of the Senators and the Republican National Committee as a woman who should be appointed to a federal position, not in repayment of--but I should say in recognition of--the work I'd done for the party and the fact that I needed a job. Eisenhower went into office in January of '53. I kept on going with my federation work and my real estate business until mid-'54.

I got a call very early in the morning, about six o'clock in the morning, from Bertha Adkins in Washington, D.C., who was head of the women's committee of the Republican National Committee. I had known Bertha through federation work also. She was a marvelous, marvelous woman.

She said, "Jean, I have a job for you to consider." I said, "What is it?" She said, "To be women's director of the Federal Civil Defense Administration." I said, "Oh." She said, "I'm sorry it isn't a better grade, but," she said, "it starts at a fourteen." Well at that time I didn't know a two from a fourteen as far as federal grade service was concerned.

I asked her what it would pay approximately and she told me. I said, "Well, Bertha, do you think I can do that?" She said, "I don't know of anybody who could do it as well or anybody who could do it better." She said, "All you've done it seems to me all your life is organize women." She said, "This is a job that calls for organizing women and stimulating women's programs."

Fuller: I said, "Well, sounds all right to me." I said, "Are my Senators agreeable?" She said, "Oh, yes, I wouldn't be calling you if they weren't." I said, "Well, how about Katherine Howard?" She said, "Katherine's the one who's insisting on it." She is the lady from Massachusetts, you know. She said, "Katherine is the one who is insisting on it."

Stein: She was already in Federal Civil Defense?

Fuller: Yes, she was the assistant administrator. I said, "Well, if Katherine thinks it's all right, well that's fine with me."

She said, "Will you report to Battle Creek, Michigan?" I said, "Where?" She said, "Battle Creek, Michigan on September 1."

I said, "Oh, good Lord, Bertha." I said, "The federation's coming out here for the convention. I'm supposed to be general chairman and we've got Eisenhower coming to the Hollywood Bowl."

She said, "Yes, I know." "But," she said, "that's when they want you there." She said, "If you're as good an organizer as you're supposed to be you've got somebody who can step right in your place and take it over for you." I said, "Thank you, dear. I'll be there."

So, then, I told my dear friend Gladys O'Donnell who was my state vice-president. I thought she was going to have a heart attack, but she didn't. So, she went on with the federation work and did a marvelous job.

Stein: Were you able to come back for that convention to hear Eisenhower?

Fuller: No.

Stein: You missed the whole thing?

Fuller: I missed the whole thing. I read about it in Time magazine. [Laughter]

Stein: You must have just been sick to have missed that.

Fuller: I was. I was. I was. Had I known then what I know now I could very well have come back and enjoyed it. But I learned an awful lot of things when I first got into government, the likes of which are not in the scrapbook. [Laughter] So, I felt terrible. I felt very, very guilty about shoving the whole thing on Gladys O'Donnell. Yet I knew she'd do a marvelous job and she did.

Fuller: Then of course the federation held its convention but then, I was sworn to secrecy whether Eisenhower was going to come or not. I knew by August 1 that he was coming. This was to be mid-September or October. I forget just when.

First of all I was contacted by a very charming man from New York who introduced himself as Mr. Bob Matthews. He was, he said, a friend of President Eisenhower's and could he take me to lunch so we could get acquainted. I said I'd be delighted. I forget just where I met him for lunch; the Ambassador [Hotel] or someplace.

It turned out that he actually was the vice-president of the American Express Company. The American Express Company had just loaned him to President Eisenhower to do whatever the president wanted. So, what he did--because of his worldwide and nationwide contacts through American Express Company--he came out as an advance man and he went over every detail that we had planned for the president's appearance at the Hollywood Bowl. He said he thoroughly approved of them.

He said, "Now I must ask you not to mention this to anyone until you receive official notice from the White House." He said, "Are you any good at keeping a secret?" I said, "I'll keep it." That's how I got to know Mr. Matthews who played a very important part in my life later on.

I was contacted later by Secret Service and poor Gladys O'Donnell had to go through an awful lot with Secret Service too. That's when I began to realize all of the advance preparations--these things just don't happen for a president to make a visit someplace--all the security precautions that must be taken, necessarily so, as we have learned sadly. So, that's how I got in government.

Orientation

Stein: Just to finish up the story, you said that you learned later that you could have gone. How could you have done that? What did you learn that would have allowed you to go?

Fuller: After I got acquainted with my boss in Battle Creek, who was Val Peterson, the former governor of Nebraska--of course, my first meeting with Val Peterson was when the agency was just being moved from Washington, D.C. to the headquarters in Battle Creek.

Fuller: I arrived there on the first day of September, a beautiful fall day. They were opening up this old building which had been originally built by the Kelloggs and was later used as the Percy Jones Army Hospital, primarily for amputees. This building had been closed up for three or four years.

The moving vans and I arrived at the same time and these front doors were swung open so that the movers could move desks and files and all the things like that in. The aroma that hit you at the front door was just enough to knock you out--you know, all of the stale drug smells that could be in a building that had been shut up for three or four years.

I reported to the gentleman I was told to report to, who was Mr. Paul Wagner, head of public affairs. He said, "You're just on your own. Everything is in a mess." Everything was being moved in.

He said, "I'll take you in and introduce you to a girl that will help you a little bit as a secretary until your own secretary arrives." He said, "Just make yourself as scarce as possible because everything is in a state of utter confusion." I said, "All right. Fine, thank you."

Pretty soon he came in and he said, "Jean, the Gov wants to see you." I said, "Well, who is the Gov?" [Laughter] He said, "Governor Val Peterson, administrator of Federal Civil Defense Administration." I said, "Oh!"

I knew where his office was on the second floor. I went down there and his secretary was seated properly behind a desk. They had set up a room that was about forty by sixty feet and it did have some sort of a Persian rug on the floor and a desk at the far end and one chair. He said, "Oh yes, you're Jean Fuller." He said, "Well, you're just as pretty as Katherine said you were." He said, "Take a chair." I said, "All right." He called to his girl and he said, "Please close the door and don't disturb me."

Well I found out later the old fellow--old fellow, he wasn't very old--he was trying to escape all the confusion too. We sat there and chatted for three hours and I'd keep saying, "Well, Governor, I'm sure you're busy and have other things to do." He said, "Keep that door shut. I don't want to hear any of that racket." He said, "Just stay here." So, I had a good chance to get acquainted with him.

He did give me a little indoctrination. This was the tone of it: He said, "Now, I know you've been very active as a Republican worker. Your reputation is absolutely flawless. But," he said, "we are in an

Fuller: administration, the Federal Civil Defense Administration, which must be nonpartisan." He said, "Now, I won't object once in a while if you do go to a Republican meeting, but do it quietly." He said, "You're going to find your strongest strength in the Southern states. They're all Democrats. When you go down there don't say one word about being a Republican." He said, "If they ask you don't lie. But," he said, "Just don't ever bring up the subject. Don't talk politics. Just discuss our program and that's all." So, that was my primary indoctrination.

I never did attend a Republican meeting until about three years after that. I was coming out to San Francisco on a civil defense meeting, so I called him on the phone and I said, "Hey, Gov, northern division Republican women are having a meeting in Carmel." I said, "Okay by you if I just stop by for the social hours?" I said, "Then I've got to go on to see my mother," who was very ill. I had another meeting in Los Angeles. He said, "Sure, go on. Go and have a good time."

I realize now that had I gone to him and said, "Look, I arranged for the president to come to Los Angeles. Can I go out and enjoy it," he would have said yes. But, I didn't.

Stein: You were taking your duties very seriously there at the beginning.

Fuller: Yes. Then after I spent the first hectic week in Battle Creek trying to be indoctrinated in the program, and most of it going over my head, all the technical parts about radioactivity and things like that, I was sent to Olney, Maryland, where they have a staff college in disaster training. I think this story will be a little too long for today. There I spent two weeks and got with the program. But in addition to that there were three women who had been sent over by Lady Stella Reading of England who were with the Women's Voluntary Services for Civil Defense of Great Britain. I'd like to continue on next time with my experiences with these lovely British ladies and my first indoctrination into government and government travel. I had some hilarious moments.

[end side 2, tape 2]

Coping with Bureaucracy: Two Stories

[Interview 5, 5 October 1976]

[begin tape 1, side 1]

Stein: When we left off last time you had just started talking about your initial days at the Federal Civil Defense Administration. You had told me a bit about the government bureaucracy and filling out travel forms. You had started telling me about the training program and that you were sent to in Olney, Maryland, and the three British ladies.

Fuller: Yes. At that time the Federal Civil Defense Administration had their staff college located at Olney, Maryland. It was a very interesting course, a two week course. It was designed much along the lines in which the British taught disaster training.

We had a mock-up village there that had supposedly been struck by disaster. They had a lot of rescue team-training there with buildings simulating those that might have been knocked down in any kind of a disaster situation.

There had been much correspondence between our agency and the schools that they had in England. A very famous lady, Lady Stella Reading, headed the Women's Voluntary Services [for Civil Defense] of England. She had arranged for three of her top instructors to come to Olney to do some instructing there and then to go all around the United States meeting people who were interested in civil defense work and tell of their experiences and of the improvised ways they would have to do, and the emergency measures that could and should be taken.

Actually, two of the women were British. One was an American, a young woman, but who had lived in England nearly all of her life and had gone through the Blitz. She was an instructor in the school. They brought a tremendous amount of equipment with them, little villages built of balsa wood and mock-ups.

Stein: Full sized?

Fuller: No, no, table top mock-ups. They had primarily been in welfare and so their prime field was in how to set up a welfare center, much the same as the Red Cross does here when there's a disaster and you set up a church or a school or some other building like that. In other words, how to set up the various patterns of where you have the people come in and where you have them register and where you have them deposit their

Fuller: clothes if they're not usable anymore, if they've been torn to shreds or something, where you issue new clothes, where you bed them down, where you feed them.

From their experiences they had learned that there were right ways and wrong ways to do it. You'd get yourself in an awful mess if you had patterns of people going from left to right and right to left. You had to have them go around in a particular sequence to avoid confusion. It was very interesting.

These ladies had so much luggage with them, having been allowed sixty pounds each on overseas flights, that they didn't realize that on continental flights we weren't allowed as much luggage. So, I had just been given this handful of--well, we called them a book--of TR's, travel requests. Nobody had given me any instruction in how to fill them out. Many people at airlines didn't know anything more about it than I did. I assume that the bills eventually got paid, but it was wild to have to take them all over the United States.

Meetings had been pre-arranged for them in Chicago, Seattle, Portland and in San Francisco. Then we went back to Saint Louis and then back to Battle Creek. I got them on their way from Battle Creek back to England. It was a frightful lesson in bureaucratic red tape that I had not been exposed to before.

Stein: I think you mentioned before that you got your come uppance from the secretary when you got back because all these forms hadn't been filled out.

Fuller: Oh, yes. All these forms hadn't been figured out properly. Oh, I had another experience one time that had no relation to that. I was attending a meeting in Augusta, Georgia, and there were several people from the region around there, Public Health Service people too. I had a flight to meet in Atlanta because I was going down to Florida.

Some man and woman who were connected with Public Health Service said, 'Well, why don't you ride with us? We're going to Atlanta and we'll take you right to the airport and drop you off there in plenty of time.' I said, 'Oh, that's fine. I'll do that.'

Well, we got out in the middle of some little crossroads town and his car broke down. Here, I knew my plane was almost ready to leave from Atlanta and I went into the telephone in a little service station there and asked to use it. I called the taxicab company. There was only one listed for this little place.

Fuller: I said, "Please send a taxi to such and such service station. I need to go to Atlanta immediately." The voice on the other end of the line said, "Black or white?" I said, "I don't care what color the cab is, just send me a cab!" I guess she recognized that I had a Western twang to my voice rather than a Southern twang, so she sent one with a white driver. But, I didn't realize that at that time "black or white" meant segregated or not segregated.

I got to Atlanta just as the plane was about to take off. In my great hurry I paid the man--it was something like \$14 for the cab fare--and I just barely made the plane. That was fine. I got down to Florida eventually that evening. But, that was one of the little things I learned, that anything you spend in travel over \$3 you've got to have a receipt for. They won't reimburse you. So, I didn't get reimbursed. I didn't have a receipt.

Functions of the Federal Civil Defense Administration: Changing Concepts of Civil Defense

Stein: To back up just a second, I don't know that I ever asked you what the purpose of the agency was.

Fuller: The Federal Civil Defense Administration was an independent office of the White House established during President Eisenhower's administration.

Before that there had been a similar administration. I don't know exactly what its title was, but it was originally started in World War II by Fiorello LaGuardia. Its prime purpose during World War II seemed to be victory gardens, getting everybody to plant victory gardens.

During World War II there was no thought that we on the continental United States would be attacked, but by the time the atomic bomb had been first detonated, and people began realizing the devastating power of such devices, then the program began to develop that we must have protection from such devices because from intelligence reports we knew that the Russians had full capability to bomb us.

One of the early principles of FCDA was evacuation. That is evacuation of large cities to get people away from the target zone. So, a great deal of planning in 1954-'55 was done on evacuation, not only civilians from cities in time of peril but also dispersing

Fuller: various agencies of the government around the country away from Washington. That was why FCDA was moved to Battle Creek, Michigan. It was a non-target area.

Of course, we learned in later years that any area can be a target area, but the assumption was that the enemy would target in on the major cities and industrial areas. Later, with the Bikini tests, they learned of the destructive force of fallout which could reach for many, many miles from the blast area. It became evident then that evacuation on which we had done so much planning, getting people evacuated out from big cities if there was enough early warning time, wasn't quite as feasible as it had seemed to be at first.

Then the program began changing into protection from fallout, which is a much wider program. We would just assume that a certain percentage of the people would have enough warning to get out of a target area. Yet if you were out in, say, the woods in Maryland, having evacuated from Washington, D.C., you were going to be exposed to a great deal of fallout which could be almost as lethal, if it's in high enough quantities, as being hit by a direct blast.

The program shifted to emphasis on shelter. Then we began to talk about shelter. Even your own home is a shelter if it hasn't been in a blast area--what's the best part of your home to be in and what supplies should you have on hand to last. In later years, say 1962, we got into the national shelter program in which the federal government identified buildings. You've undoubtedly seen shelter signs in big buildings all over.

Stein: Those black and yellow signs.

Fuller: Yes. Then the federal government went into a great deal of research of what type of foods should be stocked in those shelter areas to last for two weeks, because it was felt that if a building or a city had not been completely damaged by a blast, people could live if they had some basic food, water, sanitary supplies and medical supplies. That was a tremendous program to get those supplies into the identified shelter areas.

Then it became an educational process to teach people how to manage shelters and to get someone who was familiar with the building to take a course in shelter management. If you had two thousand people in Brooks Hall* for a period of two weeks time you can imagine the problems that might arise.

*A city-owned convention center in San Francisco.

Fuller: The supplies that were put in for the shelter program were-- there was a basic cracker that was very, very nutritious. They sent out these big, five-gallon metal drums. They had to have a plastic liner and they had to be filled with water. There were detection instruments to detect radioactive fallout both within the shelter area and without. Assuming all lack of communication with the outside, you would have to make do with what you had there. We had a big, heavy fibreboard drum that was packed with sanitary supplies and medical supplies. We had to teach the people how those were to be used. Some of my better platform work has been showing people how to use them as a john.

Stein: I was very interested to read in the literature in your scrapbook about all the different emergency measures that one could take to provide proper sanitary facilities. This cracker that you mentioned, was that something that the government had manufactured itself?

Fuller: No. They were purchased by contract. It rather looked like a graham cracker, but it was much more nutritious and was much harder. I won't say it was as hard as a dog biscuit, but it was a much more solid texture than a graham cracker. You just might look at it and assume it was a graham cracker. It was highly nutritious.

Stein: Did it taste good?

Fuller: It didn't taste bad. I don't think I'd like to have to exist on them for fourteen days, but if you don't have anything else to eat you can eat them.

Stein: That was the one sole food source.

Fuller: Food source, yes.

Stein: Was that program eventually phased out?

Fuller: No.

Stein: What happened to it? Are those crackers still sitting in those cartons?

Fuller: Those crackers are still in place in most buildings. When we got into the program people just did not realize how much space it would take to store these supplies. For instance, the federal building down in San Francisco.

Stein: Yes, on Golden Gate Avenue.

Fuller: They, being a federal agency, had to comply. They were just flabbergasted when these supplies--vanloads of these supplies--began arriving. Where were they going to put them?

This was one difficulty in many places, especially in many outlying counties. Store owners or hotel owners objected to giving up this much footage, which is after all money to them, either to rent it out or use it for something that they need to. So the supplies have been put in warehouses in strategic positions so that county civil defense agencies can move them quickly in time of alert to the designated buildings.

Nobody stopped--well, a few people stopped to figure it out. We had the figures there at the training center of how much square footage it was going to take and how high you could stack those boxes and crates and barrels and how much space it was going to take to put in these supplies for fourteen days.

Stein: Were there any other shifts that you saw in the concept of civil defense?

Fuller: We'll repeat just a little. When I first went in, the concept was evacuation. Then that gradually began to change to shelter. We knew there wasn't enough money in the United States or enough cement to build what we would really call bomb shelters.

We did a lot of study of foreign countries. Actually, the best natural shelters that there are, but they can't all be stocked, are underground subways and places like that. In Europe there are many shelter areas identified through the International Civil Defense Organization. That's a branch of NATO [North Atlantic Treaty Organization].

They did comparable things in supplying, but the most sophisticated program is in Russia. I can't go into all the details of it, but they were far ahead of us, because of different concepts of our government. Where ours is done all voluntarily, their type of government allows the government to say, "You will do so and so," where we can't go to the Bank of America and say, "Mr. President of the Bank, you will provide shelter space in your basement."

This change in concept (from evacuation to shelter) came about both from the testing that we did in Nevada, that is the Atomic Energy Commission did in Nevada, and then from the testing done in the South Pacific, the Bikini Atoll.

Fuller: In Nevada they were conscious of the fallout situation and the test that I attended in 1955 or 1956, whichever it was, was delayed and delayed and delayed because the wind and atmospheric conditions were such that we would have had fallout go over some areas where there were cattle and a few people and we couldn't do that. So, we were delayed for nine days until we got just the right atmospheric conditions so that we wouldn't cause any fallout to the surrounding area.

The Bikini test was a very much larger test and caused a great deal more fallout and really gave them an opportunity to see by the wind patterns just how far the winds could carry the fallout.

I remember one simulated test we did. The meteorologists were always very important people on our staff because we didn't have the weather satellites then, but they had their ways of forecasting.

The plan of the exercise was that certain towns and cities on the West Coast were to be hit. As I recall, one was Portland, one was the San Francisco Bay Area and one was Los Angeles. We had the scenario all set as to what time and so on and so forth each one would be hit, but then we were going to play it on real wind patterns.

That particular day we had a very unusual wind pattern. The Jet Stream coming down from Alaska usually sweeps across Montana and toward the east, but on that particular day it came right directly down the coast. Santa Rosa would have had heavy fallout from Portland. The Jet Stream just swept right down the West Coast and then across Texas and back up the Gulf, and as it was plotted, right up through the Midwest. Of course, the Portland fallout wouldn't have gone that far but nobody had ever suspected that fallout would come from Portland to Santa Rosa at that time, but it would have. But, that was a very unusual day. The wind patterns all over the United States were completely different than a normal day.

International Visitors

Fuller: Another interesting little sidelight of service in government: we would frequently have visitors from other countries come to visit us. As I mentioned, we had the British ladies, who were lovely. We had a very interesting woman from Chile. Her last name was Huber and she was obviously of Germanic extraction, very blond. She told us that there had been a lot of German people who had settled in Chile years

Fuller: ago. She was native born down there and her brother was a very important man in the government. Delightful woman. She herself had set up a factory to develop native crafts and something in the way of interesting fabrics. All of her clothing was made of such interesting and unusual fabrics. She was a lovely person. She stayed for two weeks with us there and got all kinds of briefings.

Another couple who were very, very nice was a man and a lady, whose name has slipped me completely, from India.

Stein: I think her picture was in one of the clippings in your scrapbook.

Fuller: Was it? He, as I recall, was head of the India electric power agency, whatever its title was. She came with him also.

We'd have quite a few people from Denmark and Holland and other places for an interchange of ideas. We learned more from the Europeans than we could teach them, but then, when we got someone from Chile or India, we could help them. Those were very interesting experiences.

Stein: It sounds like an international mutual aid program.

Fuller: Yes. A very dear friend of mine who is now gone was--what did they call her--the secretary to the civil defense section of NATO. Henrietta Parker was a darling person. She always accompanied the administrator to the NATO meetings. After a while he got so that he would just send her because she was a very competent young lady. So, we had this constant interchange between the Western European countries--the NATO countries--and the United States about any new developments. It was always extremely interesting to read their bulletins.

Functions of the Director of Women's Activities

Stein: Could you tell me a little bit more about what your functions were as head of the women's activities?

Fuller: My direct title was director of women's activities for the Federal Civil Defense Administration. When I originally started in '54 we had seven geographic regions and in each region we had my counterpart, a director of women's activities for that region. They later split region seven, which is headquartered here in Santa Rosa, into two regions, seven and eight. Eight was headquartered in Bothel, Washington, which is a little bit northeast of Seattle.

Fuller: I would have the regional women come in to Battle Creek twice a year. We would discuss various programs that we could develop and what was working well in one area might not be working well in another area and arrive at a consensus of what would be best for all of us together for a national program. They would make recommendations through me to our administrator as to the type of things that we wanted to do.

As I started my newsletter for women in civil defense, many of them in turn started one at the regional level, just to keep in contact with the people at the state and city levels.

Once a year--this had been established before I became director--we had a conference of representatives of all the national women's organizations, every organization that we could find that was a recognized group: the National Federation of Women's Clubs, the Soroptimists, the Zonta, the Business and Professional Women's Clubs, the National Council of Catholic Women, B'nai B'rith, American Legion and VFW Auxiliaries, National Council of Negro Women--there are two large Negro women's groups, I forget the other one--the head of the American Nursing Association, etc.

There were usually between eighty and one hundred representatives. Sometimes it was the president of those organizations who came. Sometimes the very large organizations sent their civil defense chairman.

In turn we gave them all the newest material that we had developed and then urged them to disseminate it through the channels of their organizations and that any time we could be of help to them, if they liked some particular thing we had and they wanted to print it over their name, we were perfectly willing to let them do so. It wasn't anything copyrighted at all. So, we did stimulate a lot of interest and in the four years I was back there my little old newsletter started out very small and had probably a circulation of about 150, but the second year it was up to 23,000. That had to be people requesting it.

Stein: Did you think up the idea of a newsletter yourself?

Fuller: Yes, going back to my work in the Republican organization, I had felt that a newsletter of some kind was valuable to those in smaller units, to either give them ideas--I have found in all work with women's organizations, this is both in Republican and in federal government, that whenever you can give persons some credit they respond even more enthusiastically and rise to the occasion and do more. Any time you can say "thank you" or say "isn't this a good idea" they become your

Fuller: devoted follower. I tried not to inject too much of the "I-me" things, but what Mrs. Smith and Mrs. Jones were doing. That has always worked the best for me if you can give credit to other people.

These national meetings for women in civil defense took a great deal of work to arrange and getting a date that was suitable to the administrator and suitable to hotel accommodations and suitable to getting speakers. We held them in the fall.

I only had one complaint. It was from a very dear person. She was from Kansas City, Missouri, Anna Lee Rubin. I, not being of the Jewish faith, had not taken into consideration the Jewish holidays. I had scheduled the meeting in October, which is one of the loveliest times climatically in Washington, D.C., either May or October--other times you run into horrid weather, I think.

Anna Lee came to me because she was representative of--not Hadassah or another group. She was the vice-chairman of her county in civil defense. She said, "Jean, I just bring this to your attention. You called this meeting and it's a Jewish holiday." She said, "I will be absent from some parts of your meeting." I said, "Oh, Anna Lee, my God. I hope I haven't offended too many." She said, "Well, I think most people realize that you just didn't take that into consideration." But, I never picked it on that day again.

There were so many things to work out. If you're having a two day conference you have a breakfast meeting, a luncheon meeting, and a dinner meeting and you have to have speakers for each one of them, plus you have to have speakers or staff people during the course of the day. It took a lot of planning.

I was very pleased that at my first meeting President Eisenhower came over. We were holding it in the Executive Office Building, that great big old gray thing. The next time Nelson Rockefeller came. He was assistant to President Eisenhower at the time for several different special activities.

One time I had the secretary of the navy and I tried to get Werner Von Braun from Redstone Arsenal but was not able to. That's when they sent this delightful major general of the Air Force and I promptly demoted him to a major as I introduced him, and was teased about it for months.

There are so many interesting women in this world that it's been such a pleasure to meet. You know, Betty Crocker is a trade name, and there have been a succession of Betty Crockers.

Stein: You mean real live people with that name?

Fuller: Yes, hired particularly for the job. But, the original Betty Crocker was on our national committee. That wasn't her real name either. It slips my mind. She was the first Betty Crocker. The National Dietetic Association was very helpful. In fact, I think they sent her as their representative. Olive Van Beech of the Beech Aircraft--magnificent woman.

Though our annual conference was meant primarily for women of national organizations there were some outstanding women in leadership positions in many of the states whom we included. We always invited them because even though they weren't national organization representatives they were doing fine things and probably benefited more than anyone else from it.

Regional Directors and Activities

Region I

Stein: In looking through your newsletters I culled out the names of some of the ladies who were regional directors. I wondered if any of them deserved a comment or two about what they were like or what sort of work they did.

Fuller: Well, I've told you mostly what work they did. They disseminated our program through their various states. [Reading from interview outline] Sally (Sarah) Woodward--

Stein: She was head of Region I. Where was Region I?

Fuller: That was headquartered in--well, it's in Massachusetts, out of Boston. I forget the little crossroads town where they put it. Here again: the idea of not having a civil defense headquarters right in a metropolitan area. It was out in a lovely little woodsy area.

Sally was a very strong, brilliant woman, quite mannish in her appearance. She got along marvelously with men as well as women. I enjoyed my association with her probably as much as any one of the regional women because she arranged many meetings for me in Maine and Vermont and all up through the New England states.

Fuller: The state of Massachusetts by this time had also set up a disaster training area, in Pittsfield. This was primarily for firemen and policemen, rescue workers. So, I went to visit there at their disaster training center. I didn't take their courses, naturally, but went to see it and was certainly fully impressed.

Early on in my experience with government there had been a terrible tornado and flood in New England at Worcester, Massachusetts. That was the area that was very, very badly hit. Because I was so new in the business it was thought that it would be good for me to go up and see what this devastation really was. It really was quite terrific.

I believe I mentioned to you before the whole town was practically wiped out. In the lowlying areas near the river--we on the West Coast would have called them tenement buildings, but I guess that was just the usual factory worker's residence in that area.

As I remember, the American Watch Company was the main supplier of employment in that area. Their whole lower level, all their machinery and equipment had been covered with mud by this devastating flood.

That's when the civil defense organization brought in, or that is requested the Corps of Engineers to bring in, these house trailers and they set them all up on a plateau where they would be above any future floods and these people then were given these trailers to live in. It took a lot of work because sewers had to be established and electric connections had to be established and gas connections. They got them rent free. The American Red Cross supplied all of their household supplies for them. The idea was that they were to be able to live there for six months. But, after six months they didn't want to get out. They liked it too well.

Stein: It was better than the tenement they had been living in before.

Fuller: That's right. Sally Woodward in later years was with the agency in another capacity. After I had left the directorship and came west the new administrator was not too keen on women. I should say the new administration when Mr. Kennedy came in; they abolished the women's division. Sally then went into a planning position. So, she stayed right on in Region I. In fact, I think she still works as a consultant for them now and then.

[end side 1, tape 1]

[begin tape 1, side 2]

Fuller: Region I also took in the state of New York, so Sally arranged quite a few very interesting meetings for me in the state of New York. Anytime that I had to do any radio or television work in that city, she always came to accompany me because after all I didn't know the city of New York very well. She was very familiar with it so she was extremely helpful to me that way, to be sure that I got to the right place on time.

Stein: Just before we leave Region I, I came across another name. That was Mrs. Grace Christian.

Fuller: Grace Christian was from New Jersey. Grace Christian had been very active in the National Federation of Women's Clubs, which is a very, you might say, powerful women's organization nationwide. Sally Woodward wanted to go into this other planning position. It meant a raise in grade for her. So, Grace Christian was appointed to take her place.

She was there for about two years as women's director, completely different type of person but a very gracious and very good worker. She was a small woman, whereas Sally had been a rather large, almost masculine type. Grace Christian was there too. After the jobs were abolished by President Kennedy, Grace Christian went back down to Washington, D.C. and became administrative secretary of the General Federation of Women's Clubs and worked in Washington, D.C. for their programs.

Stein: Do you know why Kennedy abolished the women's division?

Fuller: No, because I was out of it at that time. I do not know the reasoning. It seemed a shame, because it was the women who went out and sold the program. It wasn't particularly to cut down the number of jobs. I wouldn't want to be so ungracious as to say that he didn't like women in government, but it seemed that way at the time.

Regions II, III, and IV

Stein: Getting back to the regions, Region II was headed by Mrs. W. Clayton Lytle.

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: Where was Region II?

Fuller: The headquarters at that time was Olney, Maryland. Region II encompassed Virginia, and West Virginia and the District of Columbia, Maryland and Ohio. I need a map.

Stein: Tell me about Mrs. Lytle.

Fuller: Mrs. Lytle was a very delightful person, pretty little blonde who had also been very active in the Republican federation and had been active in the Federation of Women's Clubs. She had considerable social stature in her area. Her husband was an executive with the DuPont Corporation. She did everything in a very feminine but a very effective way.

Region III was Mrs. Pearl Wates. Pearl Wates was the epitome of a gracious Southern lady. She was every inch a lady. She was a tiny thing, but every inch a Southern lady. She came from Birmingham, Alabama. Incidentally, she was at one time the Republican National Committeewoman from Alabama and at the time she was elected to that position she was the youngest committeewoman that had ever been elected to the national committee.

Stein: About how old was she, do you know?

Fuller: I'm not sure but I think that she was probably about forty. She might have been a little younger than that. I'm not sure. She had been a long, avid worker in Alabama and was equally a good worker for Federal Civil Defense.

Later on she became the regional coordinator for the American Heart Association. She had good organizational ability. I remember she wrote to me one time and she wanted me to come and attend a National Heart Association meeting with her with the thought that I would like to get into a management position with the Heart Association. But, I was working for the federal government at the time and didn't want to make the change.

Region IV--remind me.

Stein: Mrs. Melville Mucklestone.

[interview break]

Stein: What were you saying about Region IV?

Fuller: Region IV, the headquarters was in Battle Creek, Michigan.

Stein: That's right where you were.

Fuller: Yes, we had both the regional office and the national office too. That covered Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Minnesota. I have to correct that a little bit. At the time I went with the agency Region IV was located in Jolliet, Illinois. Mrs. Mucklestone was from Jolliet. Then the region was moved up to Battle Creek, Michigan, and she did not wish to make the move and Marion Fox was appointed to the position.

Stein: Marion?

Fuller: Yes. M-a-r-i-o-n, I believe, Fox. She had been very active in Republican party work in Wisconsin. She was very effective in her states. I didn't get to know her as well personally as I did some of the others, but she was a very nice gal.

Region V

Stein: Region V?

Fuller: Region V was in Denton, Texas. It took in the southcentral states-- Texas and New Mexico and Oklahoma, Louisiana, Arkansas. We had a young lady in there and she was the youngest of the group, named Christine Unger. Christine was just Texas all the way through, a real Texas drawl. Very charming girl. Her husband had been President Eisenhower's pilot--I don't know whether during World War II or in later years, but when he was still a general--and, unfortunately, was killed in an accident. The President wanted to be sure that Christine had a nice position, so she was put in.

In her funny little Texas drawly way she could get things done very, very effectively. She was quite competent. She traveled all over. They would give her very rough assignments, way beyond the category of what women's activities should be.

When Hurricane Carol hit the Gulf Coast states so ferociously, they sent her and two field men down to assess the damage. She told very interesting stories about going down the bayous of Louisiana, way down there.

Fuller: It was a very, very serious storm. The after-effects were bad. First of all, the hurricane was of such force that many of the trees were down all over and so it was very hazardous traveling to get through the roads, first of all.

Secondly, the storm had pushed so much sea water into the lakes of those lowlands. Of course they grazed a lot of cattle down there, and the cattle would drink this sea water and die in a rather short length of time. So, the landscape was just strewn with carcasses of cattle all over. Plus, the snakes didn't like the salt water either.

Stein: This sounds like a scenario of hell.

Fuller: The after-effects of tornadoes can be hell. So, between the snakes who were trying to get away from the sea water, and the carcasses of animals all over, there was nothing much left.

They had had enough warning and most of the people had gotten out. One very tragic thing--and we saw this in this last Baja, LaPaz hurricane--the people were warned to get out, but they will not heed the warning. They want to stay with their little house, even though it may be just a shack, to hang on to their possessions. So, you're going to find that anywhere between ten to twenty percent of the people will not heed a warning and there is nothing you can do to force them out. Those people were killed in that tornado. Hurricane Carol was one of the very worst in the Gulf states.

There again, after the experiences of getting the trailer homes up to Worcester, Massachusetts, the government learned something. They brought in mobile homes from as far away as Ohio, but they made them sign a contract for just three months. I might say sometimes the mobile homes were a shambles after the end of three months and they weren't of any particular value. You learn from doing one thing. That was a very bad disaster. From each of these the civil defense people learned more and more.

I will always remember being in Topeka, Kansas. The civil defense director and his wife were taking me to dinner. We were in the town and on the CB [Citizens Band] radio in his car he got the message that there was a tornado alert.

The man himself was pretty calm and collected, but his wife became absolutely hysterical, just hysterical. And, of course, he had me on his hands. I'm trying to be very calm. This woman became quite insane as far as I was concerned. She kept screeching at him--and I mean

Fuller: screeching--"Get to the tomb! Get to the tomb!" I didn't know what she was talking about, but that's all she would keep saying is, "Get to the tomb!"

We got to the tomb and it was in a cemetery. It was a large tomb and he had the key to it. Inside that were all sorts of maps and plans and there was an emergency radio and things like that. I know he would've gone there anyway, but I felt so sorry for the man with this screeching woman on his hands. She was telling him to do the right thing, but she became so hysterical about it. That was the closest I ever came to a tornado and the closest I want to be. I was in the tomb. It passed us by, thank goodness.

Along the lines of rescue training, I had an interesting experience in Salina, Kansas. I was there for some state civil defense meeting. Some manufacturer had developed a piece of rescue equipment to rescue people from high buildings. It was after I had been at the atomic test.

One of the men in our regional office said, "Jean, please be sure and bring your coveralls." I didn't ask why. I said, "Okay." So, I brought my coveralls.

This device was, I thought, quite unique. And another thing was unique. They had a women's rescue team, a six person--I was going to say a six man--a six person women's rescue team. Two of them were simply enormous. They were huge. The other four were just of moderate size but pretty strong women.

They put me up on the fourth floor of a hotel. This device consisted of a crossbar that would go across inside the window. It had a fabric, heavy canvas. It was a heavy chute that had lines on the side of it so that it would be somewhat higher on the sides, and the weight of the body would be below the lines, rather like an elongated hammock. There was a very heavy crossbar at the bottom.

Well, at the sound of the alert in this exercise I was to unfurl the chute and throw it out the window. The women below were to catch it. Then, I was given instructions on how to do it. They were filming it.

At the last minute one of the men said, "Jean, grab the bathmat and put it across your shoulders." I said, "All right." I was very grateful for that because as I was going--you have to sit on the edge of the windowsill and lean out backwards and you slide down headfirst on your back.

Fuller: I was very glad for those two great, enormous women at the bottom in addition to the others holding that thing at the bottom. I put the bathmat across my shoulders. He says, "Keep your head up and keep the bathmat around your shoulders." The friction from that heavy canvas was so warm by the time I got through there, I was very glad I had that bathmat plus my coveralls on, though it was kind of a fun and different thing to do. I don't know whether the man sold any chutes or not, but it certainly would be a good thing to have.

As I look at our pictures of fires in San Francisco, it would be a very good piece of additional equipment for them because in a three or four story building it's usable. You couldn't use it beyond the fourth floor. We have so many two and three story buildings. But the technique of going out on your back head first was a little strange.

Stein: I'd say you were quite brave to volunteer as a guinea pig to test this out.

Fuller: Let's say, first of all, I didn't volunteer. They just said, "Jean, will you?" and I always say, "Sure, if it'll help the program any and give it some publicity." It did get quite a bit of publicity. I don't remember anything else about my visit in Salina, Kansas, except going out of the hotel window.

Regions VI and VII

Stein: Headfirst. I think we have two more regions I'd like to discuss, VI and VII.

Fuller: Region VI is in Denver, Colorado. When I first went with the agency there was a woman there who was originally from New Mexico. She was an avid Democrat and our administrator didn't like her one little bit. She was one of these women who was vaccinated with a phonograph needle and she never would quit talking. The regional administrator couldn't stand her either. She was the kind of woman who wore very exotic clothes to the office and squash blossom necklaces, all turquoise. Because she had lived in New Mexico she had collected quite a lot of lovely jewelry, but very, very inappropriate for office garb. Her main failure was that she just never would quit chattering.

Stein: What was her name?

Fuller: Why did you ask me?

Stein: Well, let's forget it and then it'll come to you when you're not thinking about it.

Fuller: Yes. So, they slid her into some other position. It's so very difficult to absolutely fire somebody, you know, practically impossible unless you prove moral turpitude or something like that. We got a woman from Wyoming.

Stein: Was that Mrs. Smith?

Fuller: Yes. Audrey Smith.

Stein: W. Gregg is what I have.

Fuller: W. Gregg Smith, yes.

Stein: That's her husband, I assume.

Fuller: Yes, and I love her dearly. Mrs. Smith was a graduate of the University of Wyoming. She and her husband moved to Denver. He was semi-retired and semi-invalid, I might say. They were real outdoorsy type of people, you know, from Wyoming. In fact, one of her sons publishes one of the national sportsmen's magazines, Field and Stream, or something or other like that.

She was very well known in Wyoming and just a very dear person and got along beautifully with the men in the office. Though that was a sparsely populated area she did an excellent job in her way to have meetings and programs and did all the appropriate things that she should.

Region VII at the time I went in to the agency was located here in Santa Rosa and the occupant of the regional women's office was Mrs. Dorothy Pearl, who is a past president of the American Legion Auxiliary and has great organizational ability. Dorothy Pearl and her husband were residents of Michigan originally.

I understood later that she had put a great deal of pressure on to get my job when I was appointed because she wanted it and she knew it was going to be in Michigan. She and I have always been good friends, but I have always known in the background there was just a little rivalry. She wanted to come back to Battle Creek so bad that she talked the administrator into putting her in a planning job in Michigan in Battle Creek and he did accommodate her.

Fuller: So, this gave me an opportunity to select a lady for that position. I selected a young woman named Lovilla Lalor. Lovilla was from Stockton, California. She had been the executive secretary for--oh, dear me--it was a countywide agency, similar to a chamber of commerce, but that wasn't its correct name, in Stockton. Her husband worked for PG & E [Pacific Gas and Electric]. As I talked about Republican women a few days ago: she was very active in the Republican women in the central California area. However, she was not a regional officer. She was the president of the Stockton organization.

I had just spotted her from several meetings and conversations with her as being a person who had considerable talent, both as a businesswoman and a good Republican. So, I requested that she be appointed in that position and she was. Lovilla just worked her head off. She had California, Hawaii, Arizona, Nevada, Utah to cover and did an excellent job.

When the jobs were abolished she stayed on in a consultant position for the shelter program for a short time but did not care for the work under the Kennedy administration. Her husband was ready to retire from PG & E so they both retired. Now they live in San Jose.

Then Region VII was later split in two. So, this meant getting a new director of women's activity for Region VIII. A very charming woman--officially named Mary Clasby, but everybody called her Molly--was from Helena, Montana. Molly had been very active with the Republican national committee in Washington, D.C., and was a very good friend of Bertha Adkins who at one time was director of the women's division of the Republican party.

Molly had also decided to get out of Washington and wanted to get back in her home territory. She loved Montana. She was very active in Zonta International and Soroptimists. She has been both a national or an international president of Zonta. She has been very influential in Montana politics, and even when she lived in Washington, D.C., she always seemed to be on the right side of the fence up there.

So, when I proposed Molly Clasby's name for a Region VIII position she was accepted with open arms. There again, when the women's positions were abolished Molly went back to Montana and she became very active in the governor's campaign and worked very hard to get him elected. Then, she worked for the chamber of commerce and the Montana State Civil Defense and she has now retired. Delightful woman.

Stein: I noticed that all these women, except that one woman who was replaced, were Republicans. Was this a factor in their being appointed?

Fuller: Yes, an unwritten factor. Each new administration puts in their own people. These are not regular civil service positions.

Stein: How did that work?

Fuller: It just worked in that the national committee--Bertha Adkins, as director of the women's division of the national committee, had a vast knowledge of women who had been workers in the party all over the United States. Prior to my arrival she had been the one who suggested these regional women. Then, along with Pop Small, she recommended me and Katherine Howard from Massachusetts. Katherine Howard was the lady who was the first woman secretary of the Republican national committee. So, between Katherine Howard and Bertha Adkins and Pop Small they selected me.

As soon as I got there then I was never questioned. "Jean, find us a director for the region." I'd have them send in a resume, but the administrator would just say, "If it's all right with you, it's all right with me." I always cleared it with Bertha Adkins too. Just a matter of principle.

Politics and the Hatch Act

Stein: Once you and all these other ladies were in federal positions did you have to sever your connection with the party or at least an overt connection?

Fuller: We were advised to and I stuck to it very strictly and the rest of them with the exception of the lady from Region II--she had been so involved in Maryland politics that she would go to meetings, which is not against the Hatch Act. You can do that. But, yes we did. We severed our official connections. Under the Hatch Act we weren't allowed to hold any office in any political organization.

Stein: Was there any kind of politicking at all in the office?

Fuller: No, we were never asked to donate and we were never asked who we were going to vote for. However, it was very easy to ascertain, particularly in men in top positions--who were in civil service positions, I should

Fuller: say--who were "hangovers" from the Truman administration. I didn't hide the fact that I was a Republican, but I had some very good friends who were what I call quote, "hangovers," unquote. They used to bait me and banter with me a good deal.

You see, they were secure in a civil service position and my position, and that of the women [regional directors] were what they called temporary appointments, "tapers." You are there, subject to the wishes of the presidential administration. We weren't presidential appointees direct, but-- The men who were in top positions in our administration--I mean really top positions--were Republicans, because they too were what they called tapers, serving at the will of the president.

Stein: I was thinking about that particular question because I know that there has been effort in recent years to do away with the Hatch Act. I wondered what you thought of all that, having worked in the federal administration with the Hatch Act.

Fuller: I would hate to see the Hatch Act removed. I know before--that is I have read of before--the Hatch Act went into being, that if you worked for the federal government your top boss just says, "Put so much in the hat," you know, and regardless of who you were, if you wanted to hold your job, you donated. I know that there were many people I worked with who donated voluntarily to their political party, but to my knowledge--it never happened in front of me and I would have turned them in if they had--never solicited for one party or the other.

There is one thing I learned about the Hatch Act, and it had nothing to do with me. When I was at the western training center in Alameda we had a man there who was a radiological instructor, a real brain, a scientific type brain. He lived out in Danville or Dublin area, a new area. There was a very hot contest for board of education. He would have been a fine member for the board of education. It was a newly formed district. That was it.

So, he got a legal opinion from our Washington office of whether he could run for that position on the board of education. They said yes, it was totally a nonpartisan position and government employees are encouraged to participate in local nonpartisan things. I hadn't realized that until that time. Not that it ever would have affected me, but I thought that was interesting.

I think it would be very unpleasant to have a situation where your job depended on whether you donated or didn't donate through the boss. In other words, I have heard that such things happen in places such as Chicago and other areas. I guess it's a pretty usual thing, but I sure wouldn't want to see it in the federal government.

Relations with Other Administrators

Stein: I have some more questions about your own office and your functions. I gathered from some of the clippings in your scrapbooks that, at least the way they described it, you were taking over the duties of Mrs. Howard, who had been the deputy to the civil defense administrator.

Fuller: No, that is not correct.

Stein: Well, this is important to straighten out the newspaper coverage.

Fuller: Let's say this: that initially before I went to the administration in 1954, Mrs. Howard was more or less acting in a dual capacity as the deputy administrator and handling the women's program, too, through the regional offices. But, when I was appointed she relinquished those duties and just acted solely as deputy administrator.

Of course, she was my great mentor and advisor. I worked hand in glove with her and she was most helpful in so many, many ways. In that sense, yes. She had been handling two jobs, you might say; in other words holding the line until they found the one they wanted.

Stein: Who else besides her did you work closely with?

Fuller: The administrator. At that time it was Val Peterson, the former governor of Nebraska. My immediate supervisor, you might say, was the Director of Public Affairs, Mr. Paul Wagner. Because my work was of a public affairs-public information type job, on a staffing pattern it just naturally fell into that position. I did not technically report to the administrator directly. I reported through Mr. Wagner, although I used the back door an awful lot.

Stein: Why was that?

Fuller: Because nobody cared. Mr. Wagner was one of Governor Peterson's closest friends, had been one of his closest assistants when he had been governor of Nebraska. I didn't go behind Mr. Wagner's back but he had given me carte blanche, that if I wanted to go and discuss something with the governor, go ahead. He said, "If you stub your toe, I won't take any credit. If you get a bouquet of roses I'll take the credit," you know, that sort of thing. They had complete faith in each other.

[tape recorder off]

Stein: I gather then that you had quite a bit of independence of your own.

Fuller: Yes, I did. I had independence but I also had tremendous cooperation. Whenever I got an idea that I wanted to develop, a booklet or a pamphlet or anything like that, I'd go to Mr. Wagner and discuss it with him.

He'd say, "Well, that's fine. Sounds good. You got somebody to write it for you?" I'd say, "Well, I'll write out what I want and then we'll turn it over to Guy Jones," who was a professional writer, "and he can smooth it out."

We had an artist there, a very fine artist, Omer King. I'd go to Omer King and say, "Omer, this is what I want, this is what I want on the cover, and see what you can come up with." So, they would. Then, if it all got put together right and it looked right and it sounded right, we sent it to print.

Of course, we had to be very careful technically. I always stayed away from the radiological field because I was not technically trained in that. I knew a bit about it, but I-- As long as I stayed in my own field I was all right. If I stuck anything in it about radiological matters then it would have to go to that division to see that I had my facts straight. So, I'd say I had the greatest cooperation, but independence to do what I wanted. Then, I'd send it down to General Printing Office and they would say, "How many thousand do you want?"

On Being a Woman in Federal Service

Acceptance in Government

Stein: Did you feel that you received special treatment because you were a woman or did you feel like it was an unusual position to be in at the time, to be that high up in federal service?

[end side 2, tape 1]

[begin tape 2, side 1]

Stein: I had just asked you what it was like to be a woman at that point that high up in federal service.

Fuller: I just never had any feeling of any competition, I guess because of the nature of the job. I was the director of women's activities. The men I worked with were just marvelous to me and I never had anything but a helping hand from the men. I never tried to be pushy. There was no reason to. I did have some interesting experiences, a little aside from that, that were kind of fun.

We were going through a big national exercise one year when there had been [simulated] nuclear strikes all over. For one shift I was put in charge of Region VII back at the national headquarters because they felt I knew Region VII, being a native of this area, and I'd get my messages in and get them through very fast.

We had a controller of all seven regions and he was an attorney and strictly a very thoughtful attorney, rather typical. He became a darn bottleneck because he'd be getting all of these reports in, simulated of course, and then they were supposed to go up on this big display board--how many thousand, million casualties there were here and there and how much medical supplies were needed and everything else. All seven of us were feeding them in and he just held them there and had to think about all of them. After we'd evaluated them he had to evaluate them. It didn't bother me. It was just a play, anyway, written on a scenario.

The next year they were getting ready for the next exercise. A funny little man, a real brain named Pete Hotchkiss, came into my office. He said, "Jean, we're getting ready for exercise number umpty-ump." I said, "Oh, yes." I said, "I suppose I get Region VII again." He said, "No, I want you to be the controller."

I said, "Oh, gosh Pete. That's a man's job." He said, "Not necessarily." He said, "You know what a bottleneck we got into last year with the controller." He said, "I want somebody in there who will look at something and make a decision immediately." He said, "I don't care if it's right or wrong. Just make a decision." He said, "The exercise has to go on." He said, "You may be wrong but I want it like that." I said, "I don't know whether that's a compliment or not." He said, "That's the way the exercise has got to go. I want somebody that will do it and do it posthaste." I said, "Well, if that's what you want, I'll do it."

I got quite a few compliments. I worked a double shift on it because the next controller forgot to show up for some reason or other. So, I worked a sixteen hour shift on that one. I got many compliments because the exercise really flowed. At least we got the things posted that we were supposed to get posted.

Fuller: Another time was interesting. Every agency, as you know, has to prepare their budget to go before Congress. We were one of the independent agencies under the White House and had a rather minuscule budget compared to many other agencies. But, we always had to fight hard for it. They were always trying to cut and slash, naturally.

Mr. William Heffelfinger came to me and he said, "Jean, got a job way out of your line I'd like you to help us with." I said, "Well, what is it?" Mr. Heffelfinger incidentally was comptroller of the agency (FDCA), the money man. They were preparing their budget presentation. Of course, they had it all prepared with all sorts of slides and charts and whatnots like that.

He said, "I picked out the two meanest men in the agency and you, and I want you to be on the murder board." I said, "Me on a murder board?" He said, "Yes." He said, "I want the three of you." I don't know whether it was a compliment or not because the men he chose were real stinkers! [Laughter]

I said, "Okay, what do you want me to do?" He said, "Pretend like you're Margaret Chase Smith and anything we present on that budget and those charts that doesn't make any sense to you or if you have any questions about, say it and be nasty." I said, "Okay."

Stein: What an assignment!

Fuller: What an assignment. So, for three days I sat on that murder board and we chewed that darn budget to pieces. They completely revised it before it went down and then we murdered it once more. It finally went into the governor who had to make the presentation. It was an unusual assignment and I enjoyed every minute of it, playing Mrs. Nasty. If Bella Abzug had been around they'd probably have asked me to act like Bella Abzug, but she wasn't around in those days.*

Along this same vein of your question: did I ever feel any discrimination or any challenge just because I was a woman, as I told you, I think, I left the agency in 1958, and came west with the American Express Company and worked with them until 1960 when my old agency, then renamed the Office of Civil Defense, opened the Western Training Center in Alameda. The administrator at that time was Leo Heogh, the former governor of Iowa.

*Bella Abzug, Democratic congresswoman from New York City, 1970-1976, had a reputation as a forceful and abrasive personality in Congress.

Fuller: Actually he had been administrator when I left the agency and he tried very hard to get me to stay on for which I was very flattered. He sent me a special invitation, "Please come to Alameda for the opening ceremonies." I did. Took a couple of days off from my job and came north for the training center opening. He said, "Jean, will you come back to work for us now?" I said, "Yes, as long as it's here on the West Coast. I won't go back east anymore."

So, then I started in at the training center. He hired me on as an instructor. I knew the man who was the head of training and education in Battle Creek, and a very learned man with umpteen degrees. I said, "Governor Heogh, I'd like to do it very much. I think I could do it." "But," I said, "Gale Stearns will never accept me." He said, "What do you mean?" I said, "Because you know I have a degree in nothing." He said, "Jean, if I say Gale Stearns is going to take you, he's going to take you." He said, "You've got more common sense in your little finger than Gale Stearns has in his whole head." I said, "Well, as long as you put it that way, okay. I'll take it."

So, I moved to Alameda and I was the only woman instructor. Of course, most of our students were men because we were training in nuclear safety and things like that. There again, sometimes the director of the training center was a little odd. We were very good friends but he was a little odd. But the rest of the staff were just marvelous to me.

I'll tell you a funny little instance. Mail that is addressed to a person personally, particularly from the Civil Service Commission, should not be opened in the mail room or by anybody else. A letter came from the Civil Service Commission addressed to me. Mr. Gerald Horton, the director, had given instructions that all mail for staff was to come to his office first before being distributed.

Normally things went all through, but, by gosh, that old so-and so opened that letter. It was a questionnaire about discrimination--"Did I as a woman feel any discrimination" and so on and so forth. Do you know, he answered! He answered the first part, the whole front page, just as if he were me! Then he turned it over and then there was a question, "Do you feel that your immediate supervisor is always fair to you?" He realized then what he had done and he folded it up and put it in the envelope, put some scotch tape over it, and had it brought down to my office.

The first part of it was so routine I could not take any exception to it, but his handwriting was so different than mine it was very obvious. So, on the second page I answered truthfully that I had never felt any discrimination and so on and so forth.

Fuller: But then I stapled another note to it. I said, "Please note that though I feel no discrimination against me personally, you will note that the writing on page 1 is quite different from page 2, which is mine." I said, "For your information my immediate supervisor opened this letter and answered the first page before I ever got it." So I hope they got the point. He wasn't discriminating. He was an old mother hen. He was funny that way.

No, I can say this: At the training center it was rather odd to have a woman instructor for courses that were primarily for men, but they always received me very graciously. I did prepare my lesson plans, I think, quite thoroughly, much more completely than some of my cohorts did. Then I did become the chairman of instructors for the advance shelter management course and the advanced resources management. So, I felt no discrimination there at all.

In fact, I've got a letter in my desk someplace, I don't know where, which I received from a fireman in Oakland. It's just as cute as ever it can be. The man said, "Dear Mrs. Fuller, I have never written a fan letter before but I must write you a fan letter and tell you how graciously you presided in your classes and how clear your instruction was and how much I as a man appreciated the fact that you are doing a man's job in a very ladylike way." I just cherish that letter. It was real sweet. I mean he was just a fireman but he said it in such a gracious way.

An Example of Discrimination in the Private Sector

Fuller: If I may digress from government in my life and I got so mad: That's the only time I've ever yelled "discrimination." I didn't physically yell it, but it just infuriated me.

I knew I was going to be working in Alameda. I was living in an apartment. I hate apartments. I wanted to buy a house and I found a house that I wanted to buy in Oakland. But, as anybody does, you look around for the best loans you can get. I could get at that time-- this sounds very cheap--5 3/4% loans at the banks and the savings and loan. But, I knew I could do better.

Stein: You were an old real estate pro, so you knew your way around.

Fuller: Well, I knew you have to shop about. Someone told me that there was a man in Oakland who had a small company who made loans at 5 1/4%. I went into his company and I filled out the loan application and they

Fuller: said they'd contact me in a couple of days. They contacted me in a couple of days and they said, "Mrs. Fuller, Mr. Kelly has turned down your loan." It was a girl on the phone. I said, "Can you tell me why?" She said, "No, I can't." I said, "I'll be in to see him."

I went in to see him and I said, "Why have you turned this loan down?" He said, "Because you're a woman." I said, "What's that got to do with it?" He said, "I just don't make a practice of loaning to women."

I said, "If I were a man with a wife and three children making exactly the same amount of money that I make with the job security that I have, would you make that loan on that house?" He said, "Sure." I said, "So, you won't make me a loan?" He said, "That's right." That's the only time I've ever been mad in my life over discrimination.

Stein: Was there anything you could do about it?

Fuller: No, not at that time. There is now. No, government I have no complaint with. They were wonderful to me.

Programs

Grandma's Pantry

Stein: I'd like to review briefly some of the programs that you instituted in the Civil Defense Administration. The ones I particularly had in mind were Grandma's Pantry and the emergency mass feeding program, the home protection exercises, and the development of the uniforms. Let's start with Grandma's Pantry.

Fuller: Grandma's Pantry was a little idea that I appropriated. I had a dear little friend up in Maine, Inez Wing, who at one time had been a Republican National Committeewoman. She had her hands into civil defense up there. One of her little organizations developed the idea.

She said, "Jean, I think it sounds kind of cute. Don't you?" I said, "Yes, I do. Do you mind if we go ahead and spread it out a little bit?" She said, "No, that'll be fine."

So, we did and with the little artwork that I had done we worked through the National Grocers' Association. They helped us publicize it, gave us free space in their trade journals. There were some instances

Fuller: where, because we do advocate medical supplies, some pharmaceutical houses gave it some notice. The--the names of all those associations--the American National Dietetic Association, they were very good about helping publicize it.

Then by putting out that little leaflet which people could use for distribution, it got very wide coverage. The local civil defense women's volunteer organizations would have booths at fairs and things like that. They'd hand out those little leaflets with advice of what to get and to keep on hand for long-range disaster supplies, things like that. I think probably the Grandma's Pantry thing had the widest coverage.

Along with that, though we didn't emphasize Grandma's Pantry, we got Sears Roebuck to designate a certain month--I forget when it was. I think it was in the fall season--there again, Sears Roebuck, the individual branch managers or the district managers are pretty independent of the big organization in Chicago.

We built a mock-up of a window display with a cardboard type background that could be folded in different directions. I took that down to Sears Roebuck in Chicago. The display manager said that he thought it would be a good idea. So, many of their stores would develop whole windows of emergency supplies or they'd put it in their sporting goods section, because we featured having a Coleman stove--what is it?--a butane stove or whatever you call it. So, we got very good coverage. That wasn't exactly Grandma's Pantry, but it tied in with the whole thing of emergency supplies.

Stein: Maybe we just better explain a bit what Grandma's Pantry is, so people reading this will know what we're talking about.

Fuller: Okay. Do you have a copy of it here?

Stein: No, they're all in your scrapbooks.

[Tape off while Mrs. Fuller gets leaflet on Grandma's Pantry]

Fuller: Just to give you a short synopsis of our Grandma's Pantry program: as many of us remember, Grandma's Pantry was always ready. She was ready when the preacher came on Sunday or she was ready when ten relatives arrived from Nebraska.

Stein: That was your slogan, wasn't it? "Grandma's Pantry is always ready."

CANNED MILK

Evaporated
Instant Non-fat Dry
Condensed

CANNED MEATS

Chicken
Fish
Meat Varieties
Stews
Bacon

CANNED SOUPS

All Varieties
Chowders

CANNED FRUIT

All Varieties

CANNED VEGETABLES

Potatoes
Peas
Baked Beans
String Beans
Corn
Tomatoes
Others

Coffee
Tea
Cocoa

MISCELLANEOUS NEEDS

Flour—Also Prepared Types
Dry Yeast

Sugar
Salt and Pepper
Soap and Powder
Paper Supplies
Toilet Tissues
Safety Matches
Waterproof gloves
Candles
Kitchen Silver, etc.
First Aid Kits

Olive Oil
Can Opener
Baby Foods
Pet Foods
Canned Heat
Shortening
Pails and Buckets
Crackers

Honey
Jam
Spreads
Dry Fruits
Cereals
Brown Bread

CANNED JUICES

Fruit and Vegetable

BEVERAGES

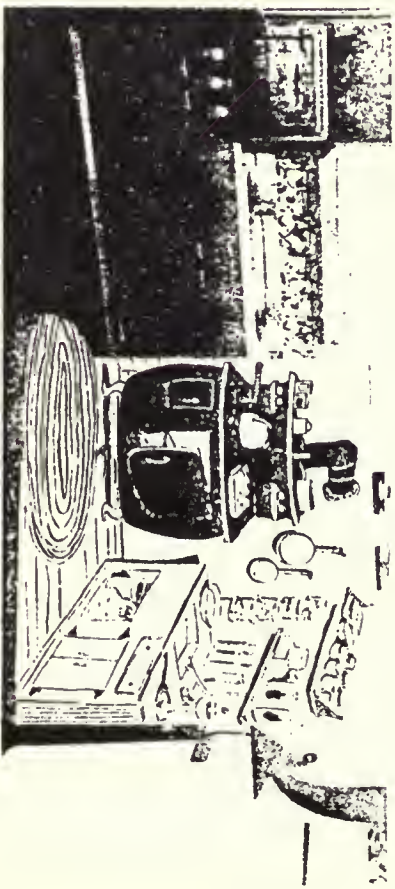
Water (Jugs)
Soft Drinks



BY, FOR, AND ABOUT Women in Civil Defense

MAY 1938

GRANDMA'S PANTRY BELONGS IN YOUR KITCHEN



GRANDMA'S PANTRY AND HOW IT GREW

GRANDMA'S PANTRY is creating considerable interest all over the country, thanks to civil defense minded women.

As you probably have learned, GRANDMA'S PANTRY is the catch phrase for the civil defense emergency food storage program. Borrowing an idea from Grandma's long years of experience in taking care of her family, the theme is: "Grandma's Pantry Was Ready—Is Your Pantry Ready in Event of Emergency?"

Remember GRANDMA'S PANTRY with its shelves loaded with food, ready for any emergency, whether it be unexpected company or roads blocked for days by a winter's storm?

Today, as a result of the newly-created perils of possible enemy attack, GRANDMA'S PANTRY, or the re-creation of GRANDMA'S PANTRY in a sheltered area of the modern home is once again a necessity.

20 In case of disaster—a flood, a tornado, or an enemy attack with mass destruction weapons—your home might be isolated, or food shipments to your community might be disrupted.

With a well-stocked pantry you can be just as self-sufficient as Grandma was. Add a first aid kit, flashlight, and a portable radio to this supply, and you will have taken the first important step in family preparedness.

A minimum of 14 days' supply of food and water or canned juices is recommended.

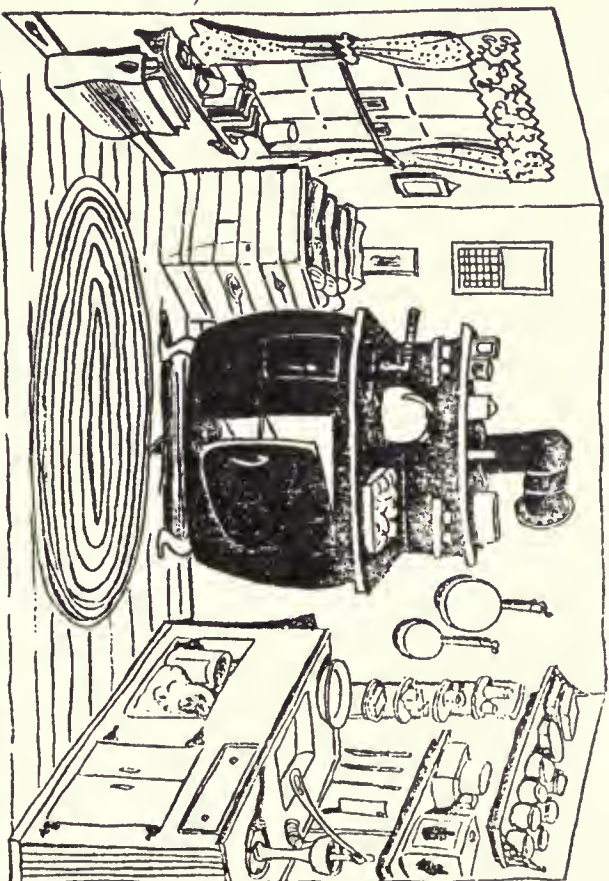
GRANDMA'S PANTRY originated in New York, caught hold in Maine where Inez Wing, Civil Defense Director of Women's Activities for the Maine Civil Defense agency, expanded the idea. Governor Cross proclaimed "Grandma's Pantry Week."

It jumped over to Portland where a sample GRANDMA'S PANTRY was set up at a Food Fair, and now a number of States are planning for Pantry Booths to be featured at county fairs scheduled for the summer.

More and more women are getting behind GRANDMA'S PANTRY, with such groups as the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Veterans of Foreign Wars Auxiliary leading the way.

HERE'S AN ARTIST'S CONCEPTION OF GRANDMA'S PANTRY
Use it in your publicity. Use it as a model for an exhibit.

GRANDMA'S PANTRY WAS READY



Is Your "Pantry" Ready in Event of Emergency?

Permission to reproduce is granted by the Maine State Grocers Association

WHAT SHOULD YOU PUT INTO A MODERN GRANDMA'S PANTRY?

The following items have been suggested for your GRANDMA'S PANTRY.

Select your own requirements in quantities suitable to your personal or family needs. Check "pantry" at least once a month and rotate regularly. Remember bottled water is important, and it must be changed every 3 months. Items packed in glass or other than tin should be wrapped in paper for protection against breakage or damage. Keep in dry storage. Home canned supplies are good items too. All safety precautions should be taken for storage of cooking equipment using bottled gas or liquids.

Fuller: Yes, that's right. Grandma's Pantry was-- Then, with this little depiction of the old wood stove and the old fashioned kitchen, underneath it says, "Is your pantry ready in the event of emergency?" Then, we gave advice as to what you should put into a modern Grandma's Pantry. You select the items that are most suited to your family and your family needs.

We said, "Check your pantry at least once a month and rotate it regularly." In other words if you can buy a few extra cans of fruit, put them in the back of the pantry. Use the ones that you've had and keep pushing them forward.

I think probably the most important thing is water, bottled water. People just do not realize how important it is to have bottled water on hand. One good suggestion has been when you have a chlorine bottle and it's empty, there is just sufficient chlorine left in the bottle that you can fill that bottle and that chlorine will keep it purified for a long, long time. If you just put water in any bottle, after about three months it should be replaced, unless it's canned as the women in Utah do it.

The women in Utah do a lot of canning of fruits and vegetables. When they empty a can of their fruits they sterilize the bottle, fill it full of water, and put it right back in the oven to bottle the water just exactly as they had bottled perhaps tomatoes. That will last for a long, long time.

Recalling that this was originally developed for civil defense and the possibilities of blasts, we did mention that items which are packed in glass should be wrapped in paper for protection against breakage or damage. Everything should be kept in dry storage.

We speak about safety precautions for the storage of cooking equipment which used bottled gas or liquid. That's very important to people in the outlying areas who are not on our metropolitan gas lines.

Canned milk is very important, either evaporated or instant nonfat or condensed. Canned meats, but there again a precaution that they should be rotated at least every six months. Use up the old and put the new at the back of the shelf. All sorts of canned soups are good and all canned fruit are very good because if you do not have sufficient drinking water the liquid on canned fruit will serve as an excellent substitute.

All sorts of canned vegetables, whichever your family prefers, and then miscellaneous types of needs: flour and yeast, soaps and powders, toilet tissue, safety matches, waterproof gloves--very

Fuller: important in disaster work, candles. If you use candles on your dining room table and they burn down two thirds, don't throw them away. Tuck them in a cupboard. I dare say if we started around the drawers in my house we would find more candles half-used.

Stein: I'm glad to know there's something that I can do with my collection of half-used candles!

Fuller: Don't store them all in one place unless you remember better than I can. I've got them stored here, here, and here.

First aid kit, of course. You can buy commercial first aid kits, but it's very easy to make a first aid kit of your own. Olive oil is very important and baby oil is very important too. Don't forget the can opener. Baby foods if you do have babies or invalids in the family. Pet foods because we don't want our pets to go hungry.

Canned heat, shortening, pails and buckets--very important--crackers, honey--I'm very high on honey. Honey is so nutritious and it'll keep for such a long time. Jams and spreads, dry fruits and cereals--those you can keep practically indefinitely. Brown bread will keep practically indefinitely. Again, canned juices of any kind. Beverages: coffee, tea, water jugs, soft drinks.

So you see Grandma's Pantry is really nothing new. It is just planning ahead and doing a little planning, making planning a part of your daily life. You don't have to go out and buy everything all at once, but if you're going to buy two cans of something, buy three if your budget will afford it that week and keep one for your extra supply.

In addition we did another leaflet called "Grandma's Pantry Goes on Wheels." I have in my garage--since I haven't been able to drive for two years, I've taken it out of the back of my car--I have an old suitcase which was packed fifteen years ago. It's sitting in my garage and I'd be afraid to open it right now. But, all the time I was traveling I always had that in the car. I had old bathtowels which were good for first aid, of course, and these other first aid items and always had hair shampoo and other soaps with me and some matches and some tomato juice and things like that. So, I have always more or less practiced what I preached.

[Tape off]

Stein: Okay, that's Grandma's Pantry. I gather that you even were on TV. Arlene Francis had a program called Arlene Francis' Home.

Fuller: Yes, her home show came on every morning out of New York. Our radio and TV section arranged for my appearance to go on there. That was lots of fun. It was a homemaker type show, just exactly the kind of audience that we wanted. She was very popular. Loved her show. Another one was Walter Cronkite's.

Stein: Tell me about that.

Fuller: Walter Cronkite had a morning news show years ago, 9 o'clock in the morning. So, we dragged all this background equipment up there and had about a two and a half to three minutes conversation, I guess, with Walter Cronkite, whom I've always adored, although sometimes I get mad at his slant of the news. But, we did get good coverage on it. People are very helpful. Of course, we must recognize that stations doing things like this come under the heading of public service and they'd get that much credit for doing public service broadcasts. But, it takes a bit of arranging.

Emergency Mass Feeding

Stein: Another one of your programs was something called emergency mass feeding, which I gather was an effort to use makeshift equipment that would be left at a disaster site.

Fuller: Yes, this is one thing that we learned from the British women initially, or I learned it initially from them. They would tell how to use this and that to make cooking utensils and how to make do with bricks and rubble and grates that you might find so that you could cook.

This led later to an interesting project. We associated a great deal and compared notes a great deal with the American National Red Cross who have their headquarters in Washington, D.C. They had an old, old disaster feeding manual, but it was so obsolete that they decided that it would be best to update it. So, I was down in Washington a good deal for a while there, about a month to six weeks in and out, as they were developing that manual.

That particular manual to my knowledge, I believe, is the one that's currently their disaster feeding manual. It was kind of fun because I was able to bring more or less the thoughts that I had learned from the British women into their manual. Of course, they had dieticians working on it, too, you know: proportions of this and that, to serve

Fuller: things. The army has a standard cook's manual for feeding 10, 50, 500, or 5,000 people. But, in a disaster situation you don't have the things available that the military manuals might call for.

There was a woman down in Iowa, Mrs. Allen Towne, who was very active. She put on a disaster feeding drill in Des Moines, Iowa. It drew a great deal of publicity. They just set up a regular disaster scene and the National Guard pitched in and, of course, the policemen and firemen and the cooks and bakers in town. They all gathered and it was an exercise in emergency cooking with the barest utensils possible. It was a program that helped in some areas.

Home Protection Exercises

Stein: Then how about the home protection exercises?

Fuller: The home protection exercises were a booklet that we put out, things that I think you and I take very much for granted but a lot of people don't seem to think about them, such as faulty wiring and knowing where your main switches are to turn off your lights and turn off your gas--in time of an alert those are the first things that should be done in an emergency--and to train the children.

This was brought home to me very forceably. My own grandchildren were in the San Fernando earthquake just a few years ago. Of course, I had preached to my own son and daughter-in-law so much. They're both Southern Californians by birth and nature. That quake took place rather early in the morning, as I recall, around 6 o'clock. Evelyn said that she didn't have to say one word to the children. Each one of them got into a doorway and stood by the doorway. She said they didn't say a word, they didn't panic, they didn't do anything except just stand right where they were till the quake was over. That was a pretty good shake.

Uniforms

Stein: I think you've mentioned earlier your role in developing uniforms, but maybe we'd better get that story again.

Fuller: All right. Within the agency there was a division of opinion about whether a uniform should be developed for women in civil defense, but my boss Val Peterson very much wanted us to have one to identify women.

Fuller: The regional directors wanted it; that is, the directors of women's activities wanted it. Many in the local cities also had expressed a desire for it. So, I was asked to get a suitable uniform or uniforms for women in civil defense.

To me the basic suit is a dress suit that should be worn by women when they are making a speech before a women's organization meeting so that they'll look neat and trim and have some indentity. I didn't want it to look too military. I went to the gentleman who is the head of Koret of California who is very famous for his sportswear, and he designed the suit.

Stein: That was Louis Tabak?

Fuller: Oh, yes. Louis Tabak. I couldn't think of his name. He had his people design the uniform. He said that he was going to be in New York at a certain time and would I arrange to be there. He would take me around to some places that he thought might be important.

He said, "You've got to get a hat." I said, "Well, I think I know what I can do about getting a hat, but I don't want a militaristic looking hat."

So, I had heard of the Harry Camp Millinery Company which is the large millinery company that has the concession for hats in nearly all department stores across the country. My friend Bernice Woodard, now Bernice Behrens, had been their western representative for years. I went in to see Mr. Camp and told him what I wanted. I wanted someone to design a cap.

He very graciously said, "Well, you're working for the Eisenhower administration and Mamie Eisenhower loves Sally Victor and her hats. I said, "Yes, I know that." He said, "Well, come on, I'll take you over to see her." So, he did and it was just a matter of a couple of doors away. The millinery businesses are all there together in that area of New York.

So, I went in to see Sally Victor and told her what I wanted. She said, "I'll be delighted to do something for you." She said, "I'll have a couple of them made up for you and send them out to you so you can decide what you want." Incidentally, I told her I had a very large head size. "Please make a twenty three for me." So, she did. She sent two designs and one was much too military to suit me. It looked like the Oveta Culp Hobby cap which I did not like very much.

Stein: What did that look like?

Fuller: Oh, it was very straight sided. It was the first WAC [Women's Army Corps] hat and it was very muchly disliked, very straight stove pipe with a bill on it.

Stein: Why was it called the Oveta Culp Hobby hat?

Fuller: Because Mrs. Hobby was the first director of the Women's Army Corps. So, she (Sally Victor) sent me two designs and I liked this one that is depicted here. [Shows photograph to interviewer*]

Stein: Yes, there it is.

Fuller: Yes. It was quite flattering to most anyone who put it on. Then I also, after having had the experience out at the atomic tests in Nevada and having to wear man's coveralls all night long, found it very inconvenient for a woman. I wanted what we would now call a jumpsuit but with a drop seat. I sure wish I had that jumpsuit now. So, Mr. Tabak designed the jumpsuit and also a wrap-around dress which could be used if you were working in a welfare center, a dress that was soft and unwrinkleable and was a wrap-around and that you could use as a utility dress for disaster welfare work.

We got a good deal of publicity on it and it created a lot of attention. A friend of mine in the motion picture business out in Hollywood got ahold of Harriet Hilliard of Ozzie and Harriet. They were at the peak of their popularity at that time. We sent a suit out to her and she modeled it and was photographed in it. That appeared in Parade magazine, on the cover of Parade magazine. It was featured in two or three other magazines, so we got a good deal of mileage as to interest.

The only difficulty--and here again very logical, I think. The federal government could not get an appropriation to buy these uniforms. I had hoped that we would be able to get an appropriation, such as the military gets, for uniforms which are in turn sold to the women. But, no manufacturer was going to make them and stock them on the wispy promise that women would write in to them like they might write in to Sears Roebuck or Montgomery Ward. I wasn't able to get Sears Roebuck to take on the project on that one. It would have to be an outright order from the federal government and then we would have to resell them. That gets extremely complicated. The regulations are just frightful.

I did get one manufacturer in New York to stock a few and women could write in for them, but the demand was not great enough because it was too involved to have to go through this business. We could have

*See page 204b.

Fuller: had great identity with it if we had been able to, say purchase ten thousand of them for resale. But, for the government to resale-- we had no regulations established and we would have had to go to Congress for special appropriations and special permission. These are established for the military. It's no problem because it's all handled by the quartermaster corps. Though the idea of the uniforms was great-- just as they have done to identify the volunteers of Red Cross, so these would have given identity for civil defense volunteers.

[end side 1, tape 2]

[begin tape 2, side 2]

Stein: I thought you had mentioned when we first talked about the uniforms at our very first, preliminary session, that Mamie Eisenhower had some role in--

Fuller: Oh, well yes that's right. I should have mentioned that. Katherine Howard, here again, a very good friend of Mrs. Eisenhower's and the President--I took the uniforms down to Washington, D.C. and Katherine Howard was there. She said, "Jean, let's take them over to show them to Mamie and we'll take a photographer along." I said, "Fine."

So, I grabbed two good looking girls out of the office who were tall and had nice figures. I said, "Kids, come on. You're going to the White House with us." They both were flabbergasted. Even though they had worked in Washington a long time they just didn't get grabbed up and taken over to the White House very often.

So, anyhow, Katherine Howard had it all arranged with Mrs. Eisenhower. She was so darling and gracious and posed with us and the girls. We had our pictures taken in the Gold Room which is the East Room, at least I guess it's gold. It was then. I told her the little story about Sally Victor doing the hat and whatnot like that.

We got through with the photographer and he was sent back to the office. She said, "Come on, girls." So, we went into the Green Room, which is a lovely little reception room, if Jackie Kennedy didn't redo it. It was gorgeous. She said, "I can't wait to get my hands on that hat. Let me have that hat."

There was a lovely mirror over the mantel there. So, here she is and I don't have a picture of that, darn it. I should have had the photographer there, but she didn't want him around. She was a great one for kicking off her shoes. She said, "Everybody sit back and kick off your shoes. I'm going to try on that hat." So, she gets in front

Fuller: of the mirror and she's putting it on and everything like that. Then she served us tea. We had a fun afternoon. She was just so sweet and gracious. Though, I had met her before with Katherine Howard--

Stein: At that hat-and-dress-trying-on party, right?

Fuller: Yes, down in Los Angeles. It was so much fun for me to be able to grab up those two secretaries and say, "Come on, we're going to the White House." They were just dumbfounded and they couldn't get over it for quite a while. They were sort of walking around on air for a while, although they were both sophisticated girls. It was just a fun day.

Stein: I gather that you were also saying just before the tape ran out that although the uniforms were a popular idea that they never got widespread circulation because they were so difficult to buy.

Fuller: Yes, it was difficult for the women to purchase them, although some of them did go through the rigors of getting them. No manufacturer was going to put up sufficient money to stock them without a guarantee that he was going to have so many sold. I couldn't give him a monetary guarantee and the government agency couldn't either. [Interviewer and Mrs. Fuller look at photos of Mrs. Fuller modeling uniforms] Yes, I could use that [the jumpsuit] to garden in today, couldn't I?

Stein: Well that jumpsuit is right in the height of fashion at the moment.

Fuller: Yes, but you can't find a jumpsuit with a drop seat. I wish I could.

Stein: That's really quite a smart looking outfit.

Fuller: This could be unbuckled [referring to small straps at the ankles of the jumpsuit legs]. You can wear them straight legged and the little strap would then just fit around the back. Then, you see there was a little strap under here--

Stein: Under the collar.

Fuller: Yes, because dust, dirt, and grime are your big enemies in a disaster. I weighed one hundred and forty-five pounds then.

Stein: I think you did a very effective job of modeling them here yourself. [Looking at photo of Mrs. Fuller modeling the suit.] The other uniform is a suit.

Fuller: Yes, that's the suit. Yes, see he put a nice pocket here [on the jacket] and then he put a little slit pocket in the skirt, too. He made another skirt for me which I adored but it was very impractical for me for what I wanted. It was gabardine, a knife pleated skirt. That was before the days of the fabrics we have now that will hold a pleat. The darned thing was in the cleaners and you know how much it cost to get a knife pleated skirt cleaned and pressed. So, I wore it sometimes but not as much because it was just too difficult. I mean it wasn't practical for day to day wear.

Two Assistants

Stein: I notice in my notes that there are two ladies I forgot to ask you about back when we were talking about the people that you worked with. I came across these names in your scrapbooks also. They're ladies who were appointed as your assistants. The first one is Mrs. Thea Goodan.

Fuller: Goodan. Thea Goodan, yes. Thea Goodan was a very good friend of mine and a darling little Republican. She was in the real estate business in the San Fernando Valley.

When I found out I could have an assistant I asked her if she would come back. She was a devoted friend and she was a widow. She was delighted. Very attractive, very slender little thing, pretty auburn hair, and she loved the work. She just loved the work. But, Battle Creek is probably the worst goldenrod area in the United States and she suffered very greatly from--what do you call it?

Stein: Asthma?

Fuller: Asthma, no not asthma.

Stein: Allergies?

Fuller: Yes, allergies, when you get all puffed up from allergies. My dear, the following summer her face just blew up like a balloon because she was so allergic to the goldenrod. She just had to quit and come back to the coast. She just couldn't take it.

I could see it because she was slender, her face was about like yours, and she came to work one day and she looked like a balloon. Her nose was all stopped up and her eyes were just slits. I said,

Fuller: "What on earth is the matter with you?" She said, "It's the goldenrod." She said, "Jean, I've got to go back to California." I was terribly disappointed to lose her. She was charming. Everybody loved her.

So then, it was time to get another one. There was a woman out in Riverside. I didn't know her very well, but I knew of her reputation. Her name was Mary Ellen Pangle. Mary Ellen was six feet tall. She had beautiful gray-white hair that just waved and came back into a great huge bun. When her hair was let down it was down to here [indicating her waist]. Very statuesque. She was really lovely and always was very, very well groomed.

Mary Ellen had been the manager of the largest Red Cross chapter in World War II. Now, Riverside County encompasses the desert and Paton's Army was stationed out there. Mary Ellen was financial manager and director of American Red Cross for Riverside County. Very, very capable-- She had about five thousand volunteers as well as quite a staff of professionals.

I had met her in a meeting in Los Angeles. A friend of mine in Los Angeles who was in the disaster business, a former assistant fire chief, had said to me at the time, "Jean, if you ever need an assistant you couldn't ever find a better one than Mary Ellen Pangle." So, I got acquainted with her just a little bit there with no idea that I'd ever be asking her to go to Battle Creek because I had Thea.

But then when Thea had to return to California I talked it over with Mr. Wagner and Governor Peterson. I said, "Now, she's completely different from Thea, but these are her capabilities. I know her mostly by reputation and the men in Los Angeles County and that area think she's great." They said, "Well, that's good enough for me."

So, we asked Mary Ellen to come back and she did. She is a character with a capital K, very brilliant woman, writes beautifully, and she enjoyed the work quite well. But, like me, she's a Southern Californian by birth and nature. She stayed three years. Then she knew--I had let her know that I was going to resign and go with the American Express Company. She didn't adjust to the Midwest any better than I did. So, she said that she thought she'd resign too. So, we both resigned concurrently.

She came west and was living in Northern California up at Smith River for quite a while. Now she's up at Bainbridge Island in Washington. She's a very impressive woman.

Fuller: I should say this: After she came back to California the state of California was developing a statewide disaster plan. She went to work for the state of California on a contract basis to develop certain portions of that plan. As I say, that was a contract job that was of limited duration. It lasted probably a couple of years and then she retired completely.

There again, Mary Ellen, like my friend Sally Woodard in Massachusetts, is one of those women who just gets along marvelously with women, but she can really talk better with men. She's not afraid to speak her piece and she knows her business, whatever her business may be at the time. She can work circles around any man, as far as producing something.

As I say, she's a wonderful writer. It's great to be a planner, but some people don't always have the talent to put their plans in writing. Up in Sacramento she'd get in real hassles with some of the men because they'd come up with these great ideas, but then they would never put them down. They'd never write them down, while Mary Ellen could get in there on a committee and work with them. Then, she'd be the one that would put it all together.

So, there are a lot of men in the state of California who owe Mary Ellen a lot and they give her a lot of credit. I don't know if Reader's Digest still runs those little, usually a one page article, "Life's Most Unforgettable Character." Well, Mary Ellen Pangle will be one of life's most unforgettable characters. She made an impression on a lot of people. And a great sense of humor too--

Stein: I gather that Mrs. Goodan had been active in the federation.

Fuller: Yes, she had. She was in the San Fernando Valley club. I think when I was southern division president I had her on as a chairman in some capacity or another.

Stein: So you knew her from way back.

Fuller: Oh, yes.

[end side 2, tape 2]

Atom Bomb Test, April 1955

[Interview 6, 12 October 1976]

[begin tape 1, side 1]

Waiting for Perfect Conditions

Stein: Let's start with the atomic test. That was about a year after you went into the agency.

Fuller: Yes. The test was scheduled for the end of April in '55, but because of the precautions that the Atomic Energy Commission took, there were nine days delay. It was kind of an interesting experience because there were so many newsmen there from all over the world and visitors from NATO. We'd all meet at the high school in Las Vegas at nine o'clock in the evening and be transported out to the test site, which was about seventy-five miles northwest of town. We'd get out there and the meteorologists would decide that the conditions were not right.

Stein: What sort of conditions?

Fuller: The upper air wind conditions, because there was some farming done, some grazing done to the northeast of the test site, which involved a very few number of cattle actually. But the AEC [Atomic Energy Commission] took every precaution because it was a ground zero blast and there would be considerable fallout. The winds had to be going in just the right direction so that it wouldn't fall upon those cattle.

Stein: What does ground zero blast mean?

Fuller: A blast right at ground level, not an air burst. An air burst has a great deal of destructive power in destruction of buildings and the area around them, but this test would be as if a bomb were dropped on the ground and exploded there, that detonated right at ground zero. Consequently this would cause the big mushroom cloud. Depending on the wind conditions that cloud, three or four or five thousand feet in the air, would be blown in a direction and then it would ultimately fall to the ground.

Now if you notice in the papers--I'm diverging a little--but you notice in the papers recently the Chinese blast.* There must have been a ground zero blast because the fallout was carried to such a high level and got into the upper stratosphere and then ultimately came down in Philadelphia and beyond. If it had been an air burst it would not have done that. Or it could have been just a slightly below ground blast, but in any event it picked up a lot of radioactive dust and dirt and threw it into the atmosphere.

That's the kind of test it was. It was a test for fallout. Have I mentioned the experiences in the trench on the nights before?

Stein: No, I don't think so.

Fuller: As I say, we had to go out there several times and then come back again. Occasionally we'd be informed in town that there weren't right air conditions.

The first night we went out to the test site. Everybody's all set to go. Dave Garroway was probably one of the most noted TV broadcasters out there. There were several others but he was the most noted at that time. He had his whole crew and he was to be down in the trench with us.

It was really quite amusing and yet you couldn't help but feel sorry for the guy. He was very nattily dressed in a gabardine outfit and a very sporty little cap-like thing, a billed cap with the emblem of his network on the coat. He had no idea how cold it was going to be out there in the desert in the middle of the night.

Believe me, it gets cold at that time of year. We were out there until about four o'clock in the morning. The blast was--I say blast; I should say detonation--the detonation was due to go off just before

*In late September 1976 the People's Republic of China conducted a nuclear test. Several clouds of radioactive fallout from the blast traveled across the U.S. arousing fears that milk might become contaminated.

Fuller: daybreak for the reasons of best photographic purposes. Then they called it off. So, the poor man and his whole crew were almost petrified with the cold. It really was very uncomfortable.

Well, the next day he and his whole crew must have gone into every army and navy surplus store they could find. The next night they were in Alaskan parkas and they were prepared! [Laughter] But they were at least comfortable.

But, it didn't go that way. Of course, we had considerable training of what we were to do. The reason for our being in the trench--the trench was thirty-five hundred yards from ground zero and it was the closest that they had ever put human beings in a test operation. You realize that the men and women at Hiroshima and Nagasaki have been closer to a burst than any Americans have. But, we were the closest that any American people had ever been. The trench was about eight feet deep and three feet wide and it had a sloping ramp going down into the trench.

We were all issued helmets and, as I mentioned, we had these very sturdy coveralls issued to us by the Atomic Energy Commission. We were always told that we must bring along a good heavy bathtowel or a bathmat with us too. I'll get into the reason for that later.

I had a happy experience personally because the tests were delayed so long, so many nights, that many of our observers were just not able to stay as long. Their funds wouldn't hold out, particularly some of the foreign observers. My youngest son, Kent, was in the navy living in San Diego and was married. So, I called him on the telephone. They were living on a shoestring. He was just out of bootcamp practically. But, they managed to get in their little car and get up to Nevada.

I had forgotten to tell them where I was staying. So, the poor kids got to Las Vegas and they didn't know where to find mother. But, they finally did. They went to the police station and the police station told them to go to the high school. That's where the registration center was and there everything would be recorded. So, they finally showed up and I was tickled and delighted.

Actually they did not get to see the test because he just had a three-day pass. They did get to go up to Mt. Charleston, which was one of the observation points. But it turned out that was the eighth night of postponements, and they had to return to San Diego. But they got in on much of the excitement and met a lot of interesting people. In fact, my boss, Administrator Val Peterson, took Evelyn, Kent's wife, for a helicopter ride, which was a great thrill for her, and it was a great experience for them because they were just really young kids.

Fuller: We repeated this operation night after night it seemed like. Because of the delays we had to keep up some kind of interest. So some of the newsmen got friendly with some of the showgirls at, I believe it was, the Sands Hotel. They're all tall and rather statuesque and pretty. Well, they decked them out in the craziest and wildest outfits you can ever imagine--lampshades for hats and large alarm clocks for wristwatches. They'd put very strange things on their legs as if they were from outer space because they had time they had to fill on the air and here there was no blast.

The night before they did this gimmick act I had been out to the test site, gotten out of the bus, and sat in the back of a jeep. The bus took the general observers to a certain point. Then those of us who had to go to the forward area had to ride in jeeps. I had a parka that one of them, I guess the Marines, had given me because it was a plastic parka thing around my shoulders to try and keep warm.

But, I'm sitting on the floor of the jeep which is not upholstered, as you well know. So, we bounced out across the desert there for about five or seven miles to get to where we were supposed to be. We got out to the trench and it was called off again.

So, back we went and I'm still in the back of the jeep, and got back on the bus, went into town. As I was going into the hotel somebody said, "Jean, what on earth has happened to your coveralls?" I said, "I don't know. What?" He said, "Your backside's hanging out." [Laughter] I had sat in some battery acid and I had nothing but holes in my coveralls. Fortunately I had this heavy, heavy thermal underwear on underneath and the other usual underwear. The battery acid hadn't eaten through all that. So, I was perfectly unconscious of it but I guess I did look pretty silly all in tatters on the back side.

The newsmen thought it would be great fun to use these very beautiful showgirls, all dressed up as if they were Martians or some such, and then I came on the scene. This was all done around the swimming pool. And, of course, I had to parade for them as a model would but turning around so they could get a good shot of my tattered coveralls. So, it made for a little fun. Obviously I got a new set of coveralls and I didn't sit in any more battery acid. Kent and Evelyn had pictures of this zany event and they love to show them to their children and friends just to illustrate how their slightly "tetched" Nana Jean could act.

The Blast

Fuller: When the final shot came we were down in the trench and we had helmets on. The point of our taking a good heavy bathtowel with us was that you put it over your helmet and around your neck. We had to crouch in the trench because that's very loose, gravelly sand out there. So, we crouched with this towel around us. When the detonation did go off we were all glad that we were crouching and that we were covered because the rocks came clattering down. If your head had been up to the top of the trench, it probably would have been zonked by a big rock. We just were in a shower of dirt and rocks.

Then, finally, when we were told we could stand up the mushroom cloud had gone up. But, because there was so much dust and dirt in the air I didn't get any of the beauty of it and it is beautiful. The glowing colors and just before dawn you get sort of a lovely background. So, to me the darn mushroom cloud just looked like a big blob of brown dirt from my vantage point.

After that we went back to the central observer station where all the foreign dignitaries and so forth were located. They had a field breakfast for us, scrambled eggs and whatnot. A lot of interviewing was done at that time. I felt very tired after being awake all night as one is, and there's a little traumatic shock to it I must admit. Even though I knew I was perfectly safe, there's a tension to it and afterwards a letdown.

So, we piled back on the buses and went into town and got some sleep, rested that day. The next day we took a lot of the observers out to view. That's what those pictures are all about.*

Stein: In the notebook you showed me.

*This refers to a notebook of photographs, in Mrs. Fuller's possession, depicting the effects of the blast. Mrs. Fuller donated a duplicate set of these photos to The Bancroft Library, and several are included in this volume. The remainder have been deposited in The Bancroft Library, where they are available to the public with this interview. These photos have been numbered and will be referred to by their numbers in the footnotes in this interview.

A complete set of the photographs of "Operation Cue" (the name for this particular atomic test) is on file at the Defense Civil Preparedness Agency, Information Services Directorate, The Pentagon, Washington, D.C., and is available to the public. The Defense Civil Preparedness Agency (the successor to the Federal Civil Defense Administration) has prepared a catalog of this photo collection, and the catalog, together with a letter of explanation from the agency, is deposited with this interview in The Bancroft Library.

Fuller: Yes. That's what most of those pictures are about, were the results of the test afterwards. I think they would help me recall some of the various things that I thought were extremely interesting.

Some Effects of the Blast

Stein: I marked some of them, things that I was interested in and that I couldn't figure out what they were supposed to be.

Fuller: [She looks through notebook of photos of test site] We'll take those loose ones first. I was, of course, being a Californian, interested in the blast effect on the house that was constructed by California earthquake standards. It really held up very well, while those which were not were pretty well blown apart.

Now, this is an interesting picture.* You can see the little frame house pretty well demolished. This is a bathroom window and it had been designed specifically so that these outside windows could be closed and latched and they were. The bathroom area had been made of reinforced concrete. We used it as an example of how, at a very small additional expense in building a house, you could develop a shelter area that would be blastproof.

Stein: That shelter was above ground too.

Fuller: Yes, it was just a little bungalow type house. You can see there the windows aren't even broken. That's because those doors were shut. The whole room withstood the blast, while the rest of it, as you can see, was destroyed.

Stein: Were you and he pointing at anything in particular or were you just posing?

Fuller: Just posing, just pointing. He was a civil defense director from Los Angeles, California. So, I was just explaining to him why it had been designed the way it was and why it had withstood the blast. He was one of the observers.

*See photo in this volume.



Mrs. Jean Wood Fuller and unidentified FCDA worker inspect one-story wood frame house after the blast. Mrs. Fuller is pointing to a reinforced bathroom shelter that withstood the blast.



Two story brick house at 4700 feet at instant of atomic blast.



Two story brick house a moment later, as heat wave hit.



Two story brick house as blast wave struck.



Lean-to shelter in basement to two-story brick house at 4700 feet, before blast. Test instruments hang from ceiling.



Child mannequin in lean-to basement shelter fared better than mannequin outside shelter.



Mrs. Fuller modeling FCDA dress suit uniform. August, 1956



Mrs. Fuller modeling FCDA jumpsuit uniform. August, 1956

Fuller: Now, this is the reinforced concrete house that was built by California standards.* As you can see, the structure is pretty fine, but in the interior the furniture had been blown about. As you'll see in many pictures, there are mannequins. We had mannequins all through. The force of the blast did do things such as that. The child inevitably would have been killed or badly hurt.**

Stein: That's a bedroom I take it, an interior?

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: What are these cross-like things on the walls. They look like some kind of instrument.

Fuller: Probably were instruments. They had instruments all over everything to test the shock effects. Those are obviously just instruments of some kind or another.

Stein: That house was built with reinforced concrete blocks?

Fuller: Concrete blocks reinforced.

Now, here is another picture of the same house.*** It was at 5500 feet. Here you see it's pretty much a shambles. All the windows were blown out. In fact, if I recall correctly, these were equipped with venetian blinds. I don't know if we have a picture anyplace, but I became very, very unenthusiastic about venetian blinds at that time because they were just devastating weapons. They were blown right out, twisted, and the sharpness of the metal, even though that venetian blind metal is very lightweight, it cut the head of one mannequin right off. So, I'd always hated to clean venetian blinds anyway and that--

Stein: That's a good excuse to get rid of them.

Fuller: Yes.

*See photo #732, "Operation Cue" photographs, The Bancroft Library (TBL).

**The child mannequin had been thrown to the floor in the blast.

***See photo #741, "Operation Cue," TBL.

Fuller: That is the exterior of the house before the blast.*

Stein: This is the concrete house. It says on the back, "reinforced concrete." Not one of the world's most picturesque houses.

Fuller: No, but--

Stein: It withstood the blast.

Fuller: Yes. Now, these photographs have been hitched together, haven't they?**

Stein: Those are photographs, I believe, of the brick on brick house.

Fuller: Brick on brick, yes.

Stein: Two-story brick on brick house being blown to bits.

Fuller: Yes, and you can see first the effect of the light from the blast. Then, you can begin to see the flammable portion catch from the heat of the blast, a moment later. Then you can see the effect of the blast on the brick structure itself.

Now, this is the little typical California wood construction house, but the one which had the shelter designed in it, the bathroom shelter.***

Now, there's a little eastern construction bungalow that just went the way of its ancestors.****

Then, they had rescue teams out there not to rescue anybody, because no one was hurt, but to practice rescue techniques. The mannequins that were inside these houses, you see, take expert skill to get them out. So, that's what they're doing is bringing out a mannequin as if he were a victim.*****

*See photo #524, "Operation Cue," TBL.

**See series of three photos of two-story brick house, p. 204a.

***See photo #903, "Operation Cue," TBL.

****See photo #733, "Operation Cue," TBL.

*****See photo #704, "Operation Cue," TBL.

Stein: I wondered as I saw that picture and the photograph with you in it: weren't you worried about fallout or was all the fallout blown away by this time?

Fuller: Actually there was a very minimum amount of fallout and it all went to the northeast. So, we were not affected by fallout either at the trench or at the various test sites, the various houses they had.

Stein: Were precautions taken anyway? Were you tested?

Fuller: Oh, yes. We were tested but you could see that it was all blowing away from us so we didn't have to worry. You see, this was not the first day but the second day after the test because the first day we were all too tired to go out and look. So, they brought all the observers out and there were quite a few AEC [Atomic Energy Commission] people around to explain things. Those of us from the Federal Civil Defense Agency who were knowledgeable on certain subjects, we acted as escorts, too.

This is interesting. There were several commercial companies who build warehouse-type buildings of metal construction, who asked to participate because they wanted to see how their buildings would stand up. Here is one before and here it is after.*

I'm pretty sure this is what is called a Butler building, by Butler Manufacturing. They have a particular way of putting the metal siding together that they were very sure would hold up very well. Well, it did. As you can see from those two pictures before and after it didn't collapse. It did take a big dent but at least it didn't collapse.

Here's one.** This is a Butler building; I'll tell you about that one. This is the one that had the windows in front and over on the far side we had shelves and we had stocked it with foodstuffs--canned goods and things like that.

My particular charge was a lady, Catherine Something-or-other, who was a representative of the National Canner's Association. She had been very helpful to me and I in turn tried to be with her. She

*See photos #580 and #815, "Operation Cue," TBL.

**See photos #579 and #846, "Operation Cue," TBL.

Fuller: was my chief one to take around the test site. We were most impressed--you see, in this picture after the blast the glass from these windows was blown at such force that there was a can of tomato juice, about eighteen inches high, and a shard of glass had gone into it just like a stiletto.

Now, here's the before scene of that living room where we saw the man all topsy turvy.* As you see there were draperies and there were venetian blinds. Now, had they had the draperies pulled completely across, the blinds probably would not have done quite as much damage but they were only as people normally leave them.

Stein: Was that the mannequin whose head was cut off? Do you remember?

Fuller: No, he was upside down here someplace.

Stein: That's right. He was hanging over a chair.

Fuller: Yes, but he undoubtedly would have been dead.

Stein: That's a transformer sub-station.**

Fuller: Yes, see at 4700 feet after the blast. So, it withstood. This little building sort of got it, but the transformer station looks as though it's in fairly good repair.

This was what we called a shelter that one could build in one's own basement.*** It's wood, of rather sturdy construction, where a family could stay. These are little test instruments that are all hung down here.

Stein: I see. It's really a lean-to. It's just one wall of wood built against a wall of a building.

Fuller: It's just a wall, yes. But it's in a basement area. The important thing there is that it was in a basement area.

Stein: I noticed that there are some rather heavy link chains here that are attached to the wall that seem to be holding something. Were they holding up that piece of furniture, that chest?

*See photo #423. The "after" photo is #813. Both from "Operation Cue," TBL.

**See photo captioned, "Transformer sub-station at 4700 feet after blast," "Operation Cue," TBL.

***See photo in this volume, p. 204b.

Fuller: That crate, yes. See, the chains are from there down to the floor and they had the baby's arm around it. That was never explained to me, but it was obviously some kind of test that they did. There again, they might have had a sophisticated instrument in there, because these are all instrumentation bags that they were using.

Stein: That's a baby mannequin under the shelter.

Fuller: Yes. That's one of the rooms before the blast. That's the house before. Here we see the baby mannequin after the blast, you see.* He's alive but the other one who was obviously on the other side of the--

Stein: Of the shelter.

Fuller: Of the shelter, but not in there, was knocked down. You can see the sub-floor [of the first floor of the house] in there is broken.

This is a wood structure.** Just the heat from the blast, you see, scorched it. This was quite a long way [reading caption on back of photo]--yes, two-story wood frame house at 5500 feet. We were at 3700 feet. So, in addition to the blast effects the heat effects--

Stein: The whole front is scorched and the roof was just completely blown off.

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: What are these?*** They look like little square concrete block structures.

Fuller: Concrete blocks, yes. But they contained some sort of instruments. Oh, they had so many kinds of instruments, I'd never be able to tell. Now, here's one.**** You see they didn't hold up too well. So, it may have been just a structural test.

*See photo in this volume, p. 204b.

**See photo #737, "Operation Cue," TBL.

***See photo #203, "Operation Cue," TBL.

****See photo #864, "Operation Cue," TBL.

Fuller: The point of this one* is in that two-story house--I don't know whether it was this brick one or whether it was the wooden one, but a reinforced shelter area had been built in the basement so that you would be presumed safe from blasts had you been in that particular area.

Here.** See what's coming out the window? All right, that's venetian blinds from the front window.

Stein: The venetian blinds are coming out the back windows?

Fuller: Yes. See, this is the living room, and the venetian blinds that were on the front were blown through the back.

Stein: This is the little one-story wooden cottage.

Fuller: Yes. It doesn't say how far it was from the blast. It was quite a way. I would presume it was at least 5500 feet from the blast.

This is a garage that they had in the concrete house.*** This is all AEC test material.

Stein: I thought that was a rather scary set of two pictures because the garage door is completely blown in.

Fuller: Yes, a metal door.

Stein: A metal garage door just completely disintegrates.

Fuller: Well, of course, if it had been a wood door it would have been just as bad or worse. But, the things on the shelves help up pretty well, didn't they?

Stein: Yes.

Fuller: Yes. Masonry.

Reinforced brick before, after. [Reading caption on photo]****
 "Note foundation damage, otherwise okay structurally." That's my own writing, so I must have examined it. Yes, see it was jarred loose from its foundation a little bit, but not beyond repair.

*See photo #791, "Operation Cue," TBL.

**See photo #829, "Operation Cue," TBL.

***See photos #432 and #787, "Operation Cue," TBL.

****See photos #523 and #752, "Operation Cue," TBL.

Stein: And certainly people could live in it like that.

Fuller: Well, it could be rehabilitated.

Two-story wood frame facing blast at 5500 feet.* Yes, see that's the wood frame that we saw all charred before and then it ultimately fell down, but there's the shelter area that's still-- shelter and basement, two-story wood frame after blast, occupants okay.

Now, this is showing a radio tower and the top of it toppled.**

Stein: This was a free standing radio tower.

Fuller: Yes. This picture shows a self supporting radio tower at 4700 feet before the blast. After the blast the top of it went down. KGO went off the air.

Now, this is another Butler building.*** I became so conscious of Butler building, you know, as I traveled around the country after that. They have quite a distinctive emblem in an oval design. This particular patented construction--

Stein: It looks like it was built of corrugated cardboard.

Fuller: Yes, I became very conscious of Butler building construction. In fact, I visited their plant one time. In this one they didn't stand up quite so well.

There's an LP gas tank someplace I want to show you.**** Reinforced concrete after--note, gas cylinder is okay. Of course, it happened to be on the back side of a house, I think. It was all right, except there was one LP gas cylinder where the painted over emblem had been blasted off of it.

Here's Grandma's Pantry.*****

*See photos #582 and #791, "Operation Cue," TBL.

**See photos captioned "Self-supporting radio tower at 4700'--before (and after) blast," "Operation Cue," TBL.

***See photos #583, #820, and #827, "Operation Cue," TBL.

****See photo #860, "Operation Cue," TBL.

*****See photo #844, "Operation Cue," TBL.

Stein: Somewhat the worse for wear.

Fuller: Somewhat the worse for wear.

Stein: Was that the one where you found the glass through the tomato juice can?

Fuller: No, this was not. This is the one that was in the little California house. It was a storage cupboard filled with the usual things; most of it was canned goods that the National Canners' Association supplied to us. Some of the bottles, of course, were broken, but by and large it all was usable.

Thank heavens I had a lot of good friends on the crew out there. We had a crew of about twenty out there for a couple of months ahead of time. They were the ones to whom I said, "Hey, get some Grandma's pantry things."

Then, what they did, too, they took open crates of canned foods and they put them in what they supposed would be the downwind area, that would get fallout. We were really quite anxious that we get some fallout on those so that they could measure it. Of course, on canned foods, it's just dust. It can be washed off if carefully done and is still usable. But, they were quite disappointed. There wasn't enough fallout to even measure it. It was just such a minimal amount.

Several LP gas people were in on it. There's one that had the-- you can see the remnants of the emblem that was on the side.*

Stein: Oh, yes. I think the next picture is going to show it after the blast.

Fuller: Is that right? Yes. Yes, that's right.

Stein: With the scorch marks.

Fuller: Yes, the paint type that they use on the body, which is usually an aluminum type, withstands the heat much better than just average paint. It's interesting. This is all a government test, but there was so much participation from private industry who wanted to have their things tested.

[end side 1, tape 1]

*See photos #569 and #673, "Operation Cue," TBL.

[begin tape 1, side 2]

Stein: What's that?*

Fuller: This is LP gas that's usually delivered to homes, liquid petroleum gas, and a storage shed that probably had more in it. You see here the big LP gas tank withstood it but the shed is completely gone and these tanks are scattered all over, probably usable but maybe not.

In this we see the before shot in the concrete building, all the test equipment, and after the blast it's sort of bounced around a bit and this cabinet falls over.**

Stein: That great big thing looks like a file cabinet with a lot of instrument dials on it.

Fuller: I think it's much more than that, whatever it was, but one has fallen off the wall.

Trailer manufacturers brought their mobile homes out and wanted to see how they would withstand the blast. They were placed at different angles. I don't know if I've got an after picture or not, but I'm very unenthusiastic about mobile homes, even though I did own one at a time. Oh yes, here are trailers before and after.***

Stein: Yes, there's one that's over on its side.

Fuller: Yes, because it was directly facing the blast area and those others [that remained upright] were at an angle. But, I mean, to me this was rather nonsensical in as much as how are you going to know how to face your trailer when you're not going to know the direction the blast is going to come from.

Stein: Right. I suppose the same thing would happen in a serious earthquake.

Fuller: Yes, that's true. Through the Midwest, since mobile homes have become so very popular--my friend, Wes, and I have often discussed it. He got interested in mobile homes when he was with the navy purchasing office because one of his very large purchases was to buy, I believe it was \$400,000 worth of mobile homes to be sent out to the Pacific to Kwajalein. He got very interested in the mobile home business.

*See photos #565 and #727, "Operation Cue," TBL.

**See photos #422 and #717, "Operation Cue," TBL.

***See photos #223 and #790, "Operation Cue," TBL.

Fuller: We ultimately each purchased one and we found by trial and error the things that are wrong with them. Here our only threat is an earthquake and our mobile homes went through the Santa Rosa earthquake very well. We had no problem and that was a pretty severe jolt. As you know, it tore down many buildings.

But in the Midwest and the Southeast, where they have tornadoes and hurricanes, I think mobile home living is extremely precarious. Wes maintains that if one did have a mobile home in that area--and some states may have such regulations; I don't know--but he thinks they should be lashed down with guy wires and very strong, what are called deadmen, because in a tornado those things just twist around like a stepped-on tin can. I don't like to talk about anybody's industry. They're making some beautiful mobile homes these days.

I wish I could find the big picture for you. [Goes to closet to look for big picture]

[Tape recorder off. Mrs. Fuller returns with large color photograph of the bomb's mushroom cloud.] This is the explosion about three seconds--I'm guessing--about three seconds after the detonation and by the time we were allowed to raise our heads and look, the stem was much narrower and much, much higher. It goes up very fast.

Stein: This is quite a dramatic picture of the mushroom cloud in full color.

Fuller: Yes. Now, that was taken from some distance away with a telephoto lens of course.

Stein: I was going to ask about that. Now who was there taking pictures?

Fuller: There were automatic cameras on some of those posts you see in the photos. Those were all automatic cameras set to go off at just the right time. I'm not knowledgeable enough about camera work to know just how they did it, but that was part of the AEC's obligation, to get the force of the blast in picture. In fact, they had some motion pictures of it too, of particularly that house, the white house, the charred--

Stein: The wooden house, yes.

Fuller: Yes, that was a very dramatic one, very dramatic one.

The Blast Observers

Stein: How was it that you were chosen to go, that they asked you to go?

Fuller: The other people who were in the trench, other than Dave Garroway and his photographer, were people who were the specialists in the agency and some men from the AEC who had been out there on the test site.

Now my boss, Val Peterson, said, "Jean, you're volunteering for the trench." I said, "Oh, I am?" He said, "Yes." There were a couple of secretaries who had been out there on the site--and it was a miserable place to work, just miserable--they were down in the trench too. But, I was the only female official of the agency.

Being the only woman who was out meeting the public, Mr. Peterson thought it would be a good idea that I be able to talk about it firsthand. Well, for a year it was a stock in trade to be able to talk about the blast. Of course, it was an open invitation for many television and radio appearances after that. So, it was good public relations to have me there. The other young women who were there were the secretarial type who could not go out and do that sort of thing. It wasn't their job.

Stein: Were there any other women officeholders there?

Fuller: No. No, just stenographers.

Stein: I thought I had read in one of the clippings that Oveta Culp Hobby was there.

Fuller: Mrs. Hobby might have been there as an observer. See, we had many, many observers five or seven miles away from the test.

Stein: I see, but not right up where you were.

Fuller: Not in the trench, no. Even the people who were in the observer area had to wear very heavy black goggles all sealed around because to view it the brilliance of the light would have blinded them, either momentarily or perhaps permanently. So, when they were told to put on the glasses they did because the light from the explosion was just as bright as the sun almost.

At the same time the civilian test was going on, over about five miles from us, there was another trench and there were military tests going on. They had a few observers over there in the military side.

Fuller: Of course, they were testing equipment such as tanks and jeeps and trucks and things like that, while the AEC was testing what we called civilian effects. Mrs. Hobby might have been over on the military side as an observer. I do not know. I do not recall her being in the civilian observation group. I think I would have remembered because I was always an admirer of hers.

Stein: Just to get this in some sort of perspective, was this the first atomic test in Nevada?

Fuller: No. No, it was not, but it was the first one where civilian observers were invited. They had some smaller tests and the AEC pretty well knew what they were doing. They did not want to expose anyone of the general public to any harm. It was a very limited invitation list, you might say.

Stein: An exclusive group.

Fuller: Well, there were five hundred, my most intimate friends, you know. There were people there from the NATO countries. There were a few congressional delegates. However, they did not stay for the final day because the darned thing dragged on just too long.

Stein: Is there anything else we should say about the atomic test? I think we've covered it pretty thoroughly.

Fuller: Yes, I think we have too. It was a very interesting experience and it was very helpful to me in my work because it gave me something just a little bit unique to talk about that no other woman was out talking about.

Breakfast with President Eisenhower

Fuller: As a followup to this, about, oh, less than two weeks I'm sure, Bertha Adkins, who was the chairman of the Women's Committee of the Republican National Committee, arranged a breakfast for prominent women with President Eisenhower. She ultimately had a series of them. I was invited to the first one and I was more than a little surprised and delighted, of course, when I was seated on his right at breakfast.

The lady who was seated on his left was the head of the women in the marines, a lieutenant colonel. I don't recall her name. Ollie Van Beach of Beach aircraft was there. There were the top women of

Fuller: all the military services there and some other rather important women in the federal government, like the head of the women's division of the Department of Labor, whose name has escaped me right now. But anyhow, as I say, I was surprised but very pleased to be seated next to the president and had a delightful conversation with him.

He started off asking me questions. He obviously had been briefed. He just pumped me with all kinds of questions concerning the test. I said, "Well, Mr. President, I certainly wish you had been there." He said, "I wanted to be there very much. But," he said, "my advisors suggested that I should not go, that we are in peacetime and I am a peacetime president and it would not be good for me to go out to the test." He said, "I very much wanted to go and I especially wanted to talk to you, your impression of it." Needless to say I had a very exciting day.

I felt very sorry for the lovely lieutenant colonel, or maybe she was a full colonel, on the other side. He minded his manners and every fifth question he'd turn to her, you know, and ask her something. [Laughter] But, it was pretty obvious that I had his good ear, which was nice.

Stein: What sort of things was he particularly interested in?

Fuller: Just general things, more or less the things that you have asked me about. Just my general impression of the test and the types of buildings and what happened to them and was there a value to the home shelter program. I was able to point out to him about that bathroom shelter and the shelter in the basement and the value of stricter rules of construction of homes, being able to point out that the California earthquake code construction house stood up very well in the blast, while the majority of the houses in the United States would stand up under practically no blast at all, a very small blast, I should say. I just talked to him just much as I have talked with you of all the things. Of course, I'm sure he had been very well briefed by some of the people from the AEC on the technical things. But, I think he was just more or less looking for a woman's point of view and reaction to the whole thing.

Critics and Friends

Stein: I have just one or two more questions about the civil defense work. Then I think we should move on to the other later parts of your career.

Fuller: All right.

Stein: I picked up a couple of little hints in some of the newspaper articles that it wasn't always smooth sailing and there were some criticisms and problems. I wondered what the major problems were that you had to fight in the Civil Defense Administration, either within it or with the people that you were working with.

Fuller: The only thing I can recall is that we always have critics of any federal program. Some people called it a great waste of money and others were very enthusiastic for it. That was one of the points that I always tried to bring out, that we could provide ourself with a fair measure of protection at a very little additional cost and that it shouldn't be a large outlay of money for anyone if done wisely. I didn't have any particular trouble personally that I can recall, any antagonism, but I think there's always just been a--well, let's say the people of the United States generally speaking could not believe or would not accept the idea that we would be attacked on this mainland.

I think there's still that feeling. It goes on still today. They don't believe the Russians can hit us with their MIRV missiles or whatever other missiles they may have. So, there are always pros and cons on that argument and they never have quit. There were criticisms of the amount of money spent for the tests in Nevada. However, I think the amount of money was minuscule if it could save a few million lives. Is there anything specific you're thinking of that there were criticisms of?

Stein: There was one article in which there had evidently been criticism from the American Association of University Women. The article didn't say what the criticisms were, but it was reporting the fact that you suggested to them that rather than criticize they should help you work out survival plans.

Fuller: That sounds like what I'd say. The AAUW is a very fine organization. I don't know whether you're associated with it or not. They're very strong-minded women and they do study things very well. However, sometimes I think their studies are not as complete as they should be. They, like any organization, have preconceived ideas on many things and perhaps that was what the controversy had been about. I have no direct recollection of it.

Stein: I think we talked about Consuelo Bailey last time, didn't we?

Fuller: I just mentioned that I knew her and was very, very fond of her and I hear from her every year.

Stein: Where is she living now?

Fuller: She lives in Burlington, Vermont--Montpelier, Vermont, rather, I should say. She was in Burlington for many years and now she's in Montpelier, Vermont. She was the first woman lieutenant governor elected in a state and a very marvelous woman.

She was an attorney, still is, and her husband had been. He was stricken with some very, very debilitating disease very early in their married life. Consuelo carried on the law practice that they had been in together. Connie Bailey must be now about seventy-five years old. I'm just making a rough guesstimate. As you know she was secretary of the Republican National Committee for quite a few years.*

Not this last Christmas but the Christmas before in her Christmas card she enclosed a program of a testimonial dinner that they had for her in Montpelier. It was quite--I've got it tucked away somewhere--a very laudatory sort of thing of her service to her community and her state and her nation. It was interesting. She had this beautiful home in Burlington, Vermont--lovely, lovely old New England home furnished in exquisite things. She was old family of the area, you know. She sent me that and then last year her Christmas card was from Montpelier, Vermont. I have an idea that probably her husband had eventually passed on and she had sold her lovely home and moved into some place in Montpelier.

She's been an interesting acquaintance for many years since my early days in Republican work. So, I've enjoyed and been very proud of her friendship, though it's not an intimate one. We correspond at least once a year.

*Consuelo Bailey passed away in 1976. [Note added by Mrs. Fuller.]

V AMERICAN EXPRESS COMPANY, 1958-1960

Changing Jobs

Stein: Let's move on to the American Express Company, if that's okay.

[Tape off for iced tea break]

In 1958 you left--

Fuller: In 1958 I was offered a very nice position with the American Express Company and was asked to come into their office in New York at the earliest opportunity to discuss it. It was because the American Express Company was establishing a new credit card system. Up until that time the only credit card that was available on a, let's say a worldwide basis, was Diner's Club, although there were a few hotel chains that had their own credit cards. But, this was to be a worldwide thing. It was a very important and a very well researched project for the American Express Company before they finally announced it. So, I couldn't even tell the administrator, Leo Hoegh.

Stein: H-o-e-g-h.

Fuller: Yes. Why I was leaving--I told him that I wanted to go to the West Coast and had been offered a position and because of my mother's health I felt I wanted to be there too. So, it was just announced that I was resigning and would be returning to the West Coast.

I didn't know at the time, I didn't realize what a very great favor Leo Hoegh did for me. I had been in Battle Creek [Michigan], a little over four years in a federal position. He just said, "Jean, I'm going to keep you on as a consultant, WAE (when as employed)," which meant that if they called me to a conference I would be paid \$50 per diem. That was wonderful to me ultimately in my civil service work because when it came time for me to retire, though I had actually

Fuller: worked for the federal government only fourteen years, having me on as a consultant meant that there was no break in service so I got credit for twenty years.

Stein: Wonderful.

Fuller: It was a wonderful thing that he did for me and I just didn't know it at the time, but as it turned out it was the greatest favor he could have done.

Helping to Launch a Credit Card System

Fuller: The American Express Company job--when it was announced that they were going into the business it hit the financial world with a bang. It was fun to be part of it. I had the thirteen western states. As you know the American Express Company has offices in all major cities or nearly all major cities, but their business had been primarily travel and travelers checks. Of course, they have other interests too. Their factoring organization is a very important part of their work.

Launching a credit card system was a very big venture. Their local managers were so consumed with the travel business and the travelers check business and things like that that they were not familiar with the credit card work and how it was to work. American Express did a tremendous mailing, a very beautiful brochure to all hotels and the major restaurants all over the United States. I had the thirteen western states and so, I would have to go and contact them. Some of them had signed up voluntarily, just because of the prestige of American Express. Others were of a wait-and-see attitude. So, it took a bit of selling and I enjoyed doing it. I enjoyed talking about it and working with them and getting them to sign up.

My problem with the American Express Company primarily was the fact that they're Eastern seaboard oriented, where most all travelers go to hotels. You and I know that here in the West we think in terms of motels. Now, our motels are very plush hotels in many instances and some of the big chains are our best hotels. They would not allow me to sign up motels.

Stein: Why not?

Fuller: Because they were only interested in hotels. That was their thinking. That was their thinking initially. They wanted restaurants and hotels.

Fuller: I'd be on a long distance phone with the manager of the credit card division and say, "You do not understand the West Coast. When we talk about motels we're not talking about little cabins in South Carolina. We're talking about great, huge motels--hotels, but they're sort of spread out with a big swimming pool and they have dining facilities and things like that."

That was my hardest selling job was to sell them on the East Coast with the fact that a motel didn't mean what they thought it meant. But, finally, I kept sending in contracts with, well the best western motels, I just kept sending in contracts and getting phone calls from the East, "We told you not to do this." I said, "This is a great big beautiful posh place. Why not?" So, I went out to Las Vegas and I began signing up places like the Sands Motel or the Frontier Motel. Then, they began to realize that if they didn't let me do it they were going to miss a lot of good businesses. So, we finally got that point over.

I met a lot of interesting people in the work. When I'd go into a town such as San Francisco, or Seattle, or Salt Lake [City], the American Express manager would call the heads of the various departments--the more important part of his staff--together and then I'd try and explain it to them. Then I would go out to the places they would recommend and contact the owners or the managers personally because I wasn't very familiar with cities such as Seattle. I take that as a for instance. The American Express manager there was most cooperative, but he didn't have time himself to go out and do this work. So, he was delighted to have somebody to do all this legwork.

So, I would just follow his guidance as to which were the best restaurants and which were the best hotels or motels and so forth, and then, too, I tried to get shops, women's boutiques and things like that, good men's shops. It was a pioneering job because it was a whole new concept to the merchants and hotel owners. I loved the work.

After about a year the primary selling job was over. Because the American Express bookkeeping system was very involved--they were not on computers; they went to computers later--it became a real hassle because the vendor, the storeowner, or the motel owner would send in these charges to New York and they wouldn't hear from them for two or three months or they would send back so much money when the motel owner thought he was supposed to be getting so much more.

Bookkeeping is not my forté, but I found myself having to explain and justify these scrambled accounts to comptrollers of large hotels who knew their business. That became a struggle for me because I'm

Fuller: not accountant minded, and I never have been, and it would be very difficult for me. And it was difficult, but I kept on plugging anyway. I tried to keep on the sales end as much as possible and not have to get into hassles on money matters.

As I say, we're talking about American Express. It was a very broadening experience. I mean that in the true sense of the word because I was given instructions to go to the very finest restaurants and order a meal and ask to see the manager. I was eating three meals a day at the very loveliest places and the waistline did begin to bulge--I mean bulge--so that I gained an awful lot of weight even though I would try to be careful. But, that was fun. I went to an awful lot of very, very good restaurants.

Stein: I'll say. You could write a gourmet's guide to restaurants in the western states.

Fuller: Yes, at that time. So many new ones since then. So at that time--that had been a year and a half--I received a letter from Leo Hoegh. They were opening the Western Training Center in Alameda. This is the Office of Civil Defense. They were going to have an opening ceremony and he was coming out for it. So, I went to Alameda for the opening ceremony.

He wanted to know if I would come back to work for the agency now. I said, "Well, as long as it's on the West Coast I'll be very delighted to." Well, my grade wasn't quite as good as it had been before, but I was not a grade-conscious person, although it does mean an amount of money too. I loved the work.

At the Western Training Center I became an instructor as well as the public relations director and kept on traveling, going to all the states west of the Mississippi to recruit students for the Western Training Center. So, it was like a juggler in the circus, trying to juggle a traveling schedule and keeping up with teaching assignments.

Stein: Could we back up just a second. Before we leave American Express I had a couple of questions. First of all, why were they so concerned to keep the credit card idea secret at the very beginning?

Fuller: The stock market is a very volatile thing, as you know. Anything that happens in any financial institution--and I'm not sure of just all the details--but, you know, there will be a little leak come out that Chase Manhattan is going to reduce their prime credit rating by one fourth of one percent or prime credit charge, and this affects all banking institutions.

Fuller: This was a new and innovative idea in the American Express Company and in the financial world because, as I say, Diner's Club had started their Diner's card, but at that time it was not a worldwide thing. No other financial institution seemed to be thinking of doing the same thing. So, it was just something they wanted kept very secret because if anything leaks out of a big financial institution, either the stocks hits the ceiling or goes to the floor. So, it just had to be something they wanted very secret. That's just the way financial institutions work.

Stein: Your major job was to sell the idea to the places that would use the card. Were you at all involved in selling the idea of the card to the consumers?

Fuller: That was more or less of a sideline. We experimented a little bit with it. We experimented particularly in the women's field to see if we could stimulate the sales of the card through women's organizations. But, that was not successful per se.

We did stimulate the sales to the individuals through the vendors who signed up with the company. You will see a little box with applications for membership wherever the card is accepted. We always made sure that they kept them out. They get a very small stipend for each card applicant that is sent in from one of their boxes. There's a little coded number on each one of those applications. So, it shows where the person picked it up. If you picked it up at the St. Francis Hotel, the St. Francis Hotel gets a small amount and in the long run it can add up to quite a little bit.

During the time I was with the American Express Company another financial institution had kept their secrets very, very much to themselves and all of a sudden it burst upon the scene. That was the BankAmericard. That must have been 1959. So, they had been doing a lot of study on it too. But, that was kept very secret until they were ready to announce it. I happened to find about it about five weeks before it was announced and was offered a position with them.

Stein: This was after you were already with American Express.

Fuller: Yes, but I wouldn't have left for anything. At American Express the corporate feeling was that B of A would never be able to make a go of it, that no bank would do it well. Of course, that's been proven wrong. Anything in the financial world is held very close to the vest until they're absolutely ready to announce it. They don't let anything leak out till they're fully ready to go.

Stein: Why weren't you terribly successful in working through the women's groups in selling the cards?

Fuller: Just didn't get the response. As a project for a women's organization we offered them 50¢ for every applicant that they turned in. There were very few turned in. It just didn't work out as we thought it might. It was just an experimental sort of thing. Now, there are many women who hold American Express cards, but they're not what we'd call organization women. They're probably just businesswomen who travel and have picked one up at a hotel or gone directly and applied for one. But, as a venture through women's organizations it was not successful. I put a little effort in on it, but it--

Stein: Which women's groups in particular did you go to?

Fuller: Well, I went to AAUW, Soroptimists, the Ebel of LA.

Stein: Who are they?

Fuller: The Ebel club is, oh what shall I say, like the Women's City Club of San Francisco, usually comparatively wealthy women, many of them widows, many who travel a lot, the perfect people who would use a credit card.

Stein: Yes, I'd imagine that's what you would want to find.

Fuller: Yes, and various other organizations. Put little articles or bulletins in their organization papers or newsletters that it could be a money-making thing for the organizations, but it just didn't work out. There are some things you can do with women's organizations and other things you can't.

Stein: It may have been the time too.

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: I think you might have had more success later on.

Fuller: Yes, as I say, it was a new idea, a new idea entirely. Now, I think Bank of America has gotten into it, and then the, what's the other one--

Stein: Master Charge.

Fuller: Master Charge--the whole concept of the credit card has been accepted. But still, American Express appeals primarily to those people who travel and travel abroad. That's where it has its edge, you see, American Express is known round the world and I dare say their percentages of vendors in the United States as compared to B of A and Master Charge is quite minuscule. But, overseas that's a different thing.

[end side 2, tape 1]

[begin tape 2, side 1]

Stein: Who were your superiors at American Express?

Fuller: The man who was head of the credit card system was Mike Lively, a very fine young man who had been with the company for quite a few years and in many different jobs. He was in charge of the establishment of the credit card system.

History and Tradition at the American Express Company

Fuller: I went to New York for a week's indoctrination, you might say, before coming back out to the West Coast to get into it. There I was exposed to the spirit of the American Express Company and its history and tradition because it is a very tradition-minded organization. There's a lovely book that was written on its history that I found fascinating reading. The American Express Company is not an express company within the United States. It does some express work overseas, but it originated originally from the Wells Fargo Express historically. But, it went out of the express business in the early 1900s and became just a financial organization. It is not a bank, but it performs many functions of banks.

An interesting part of the American Express Company--it's a very good company to buy stock in. It doesn't pay much dividends, but has long appreciation. You go in and you buy American Express travelers checks, paying, I believe, currently \$1 per hundred, you may or may not use up those travelers checks for a year or two. There are many people who go in and buy American Express travelers checks just to keep them as sort of a security.

There's an interesting story told. In Detroit--what was it, 1933, when the banks closed?--it all started in Detroit, the closure of the banks. Just overnight the banks were all closed. People were panicked and there were many people in Detroit who had American Express travelers checks. They went tearing to the American Express office the morning it was announced and they wanted to cash their travelers checks. The company said, "All right," and just started paying out the money.

The story is one old man came in and he had about \$500 worth of travelers checks and he said, "I want to cash these." The young lady said, "All right." He said, "You mean, you'll cash them?" She

Fuller: said, "Yes, of course." He said, "Well, then I don't want to cash them." You see, he thought that they'd be closing down just like the banks.

Another interesting story: When the Andria Doria went down there were many travelers there on the ship who had American Express travelers checks which they had purchased in Italy. Most of the travelers on that ship were Italians or of Italian descent. Many of them were saved. Without any proof whatever, if they went into an Express Company and said, "I was on the Andria Doria. I had \$500 or \$1000 worth of American Express travelers checks," the American Express Company paid them without any proof at all because they felt that they probably did.

The American Express performs, I think, a very wonderful service. I certainly used and perhaps abused the privilege. The only time I've done it, but other people do it much more who travel world-wide--the American Express office in Paris is the largest post office in the world. People who are going to be traveling have all their mail forwarded to the American Express, care of Paris office. The only time I've ever done it was when I was going to Honolulu for about three weeks, (after I'd left the company) I wanted some things mailed to me over there. So, I just went in and said, "Have you got any mail for Jean Fuller?" "Oh, yes." It's quite a usual thing. But, it's just part of their overhead, you might say, for the tremendous amount of travel business that they book.

American Express is also an interesting organization. They have a very wonderful training program for travel agents. They will not put a travel agent into an office to book tours or travel until they've had a rather extensive training. I think it's six weeks. Any young man or woman who wants to become a travel agent, and they are accepted by the local manager as being desirable but untrained, they are sent to New York at American Express expense and given a very extensive training program before they're ever allowed to sit behind a desk in a travel office.

I've watched those travel agents in the Los Angeles office where I had my headquarters with them. They had eight very expert travel agents and I've never seen people work harder and have to retain as much knowledge and keep up on current travel matters as they do.

I recall one young woman who was just a whiz bang in the business. She had a file rack on her desk two feet long with file folders, current tours or current customers that she was trying to work things out for. She'd get a phone call from one and flip open her file and, you know, whether she was going to Turkey or Afghanistan or wherever it was, she had it all right at the tip of her tongue.

Fuller: But, they do not pay very well. In the business American Express is known to pay the least to their travel agents. But, there is a prestige to working for the organization and there are some benefits. All these travel agents belong to ASTA. I think that is what it's called. It's an international affiliation of travel people and they set up tours for themselves and have a convention someplace or other. They just really have a bash. If you're an American Express employee you go into a hotel and present your card, why you probably get your room for half price or maybe courtesy of the house.

I know when I was traveling when it happened to me the first couple of times I was sort of embarrassed. I was on an expense account. The company would reimburse me. I walked into a hotel-- you're always instructed to go to the assistant manager, not just the desk clerk. You go in and present your card, representative of American Express, you'd like to be here for two or three days, week, whatever it may be. He may say, "Be my guest," or he may say, "Well, the usual 50 percent off." So, there are some side benefits to being a travel agent.

However, it's one of the best training grounds for other travel agencies. Unless someone had really been with the Express Company for quite a long time and is really dedicated to being one of their people, other travel agencies just steal their personnel like crazy. They train the travel agents for all the other agencies, the smaller ones! So, it's a fascinating organization in itself. I was glad to be associated with it and sorry to leave it. But, I was also happy to leave it.

Stein: Were there any other women executives at your level?

Fuller: No. I started out alone and then they hired a gentleman, oh, I suppose in his sixties, who lived in Los Angeles. I more or less broke him in, you might say. He just worked around the Los Angeles area, while I did the Las Vegas area and other states. Las Vegas was the very lucrative spot of course and San Francisco.

Then, they sent me Angus McTavish from New York. He was a typical New York playboy who had at one time been married to a rather wealthy woman. I guess she got tired of his fooling around. He had social connections. So, American Express hired him and sent him out to the Los Angeles office. He was just a so and so to work with because you couldn't tell whether he was working or playing around and most of the time he was playing around. He had the gift of gab. He could turn in just enough contracts to keep the company satisfied. They didn't give us a quota, but after all you were supposed to do

Fuller: some work. Having lost one wealthy wife, you could just see all he was doing was looking for a new wealthy wife in Hollywood or Beverly Hills. So, to answer your question, to my knowledge, there were no other women.

Stein: Did that pose any kind of problem for you?

Fuller: It posed a little problem, not a very great one but a little problem in that hotels and hotel chain managers were more used to having a man come as a representative from the American Express Company. I was the first woman who ever showed up on the scene from the company. It took just a little bit of introductory conversation, you might say. After all, you present your card. They're all printed by the American Express Company. They're done in exactly the same way. You can't have anything out of place on it. They're very well recognized by hotel people, so they would know I could not have forged one. I'd have my brochures and whatnot to explain things. So, after the initial minor shock, you might say, of a woman rather than a man--

But, it didn't bother me. It's just one of those things in this world that if you are doing a job, in a selling job--I think there are many women who can sell a heck of a lot better than men can, some products. I don't think I could sell shock absorbers. But, in this work you're working with an idea. You're working with a new idea and it was the idea of selling which I enjoyed doing.

VI WESTERN TRAINING CENTER, OFFICE OF CIVIL DEFENSE, 1960-1965

Selling the Program

Stein: So what happened a year and a half later? You decided to leave?

Fuller: I was invited by Governor Hoegh to come to the opening of the Western Training Center which was being established in Alameda. This was the counterpart of the staff college that the agency had at Olney, Maryland, except that we did not have the disaster rescue training that they had back at Olney.

I was in charge of publicity and public affairs, you might say, and stimulating interest in the classes. We had varied numbers of particular groups. As I usually say, we had more policemen and firemen than anything else because the police and fire services were becoming alert to the possibilities of this new type of training or a new responsibility.

Then, I got some courses from church groups. I was so reminded of it yesterday when I went up to Angwin. I think one of the most interesting groups that I had was from the Seventh Day Adventist Church and Pacific Union College, located at Angwin, high in the hills above Napa Valley. They must have sent fifty people. Our courses usually ran about twenty-five or perhaps thirty, but they sent fifty people. This was for a week's training.

We had barracks-type buildings with very nice, immaculately clean individual rooms for each student. But, we had no feeding facility there. However, the old buildings had originally been the maritime officers training center. So, there was a big area which had been the kitchen area. The big old boilers and dishwashers and everything like that were there, but otherwise the room had been

Fuller: denuded of any furniture. We were a little perturbed because restaurants in the little town of Alameda are quite limited and knowing that Seventh Day Adventists have their very own special diets--

Stein: Vegetarian.

Fuller: Vegetarian, yes. We were very concerned about it because they just wouldn't be able to eat. We had coffee machines and Coke machines--none of which they will touch--there, but there was just a little problem in our mind for a while.

So, some lady came down from Pacific Union College and I brought up the subject. She said, "Don't worry about that one bit." She said, "Do you have a place where we can set up tables for eating and some cooking?" I said, "Yes."

So, I took her out to the kitchen area. It was pretty dusty. We had to get the crew in to clean it up because it was just a big empty room. I said, "We can set tables up in here. There's hot water available." She said, "Then, don't worry about a thing."

So, they got the local Seventh Day Adventist Church there in Alameda to cater all their meals. They had their own religious service at breakfast. They were just no trouble to us at all, less trouble than the usual classes of students. So, it turned out marvelously. I was very happy to have them. Some of them were retired doctors, some were nurses, some were just church members, and all came from the St. Helena area, St. Helena and Angwin.

I would travel around to the various civil defense offices in key cities--Kansas City, St. Louis, whatnot like that--and talk up the idea, to the police chief usually and sometimes the police chief and fire chief combined, the idea of their sending people to the courses. There was no charge for their housing. There was no charge for the course and the government reimbursed them one half of their travel and gave them a small stipend per diem, not the usual government per diem rate, so that they would have sufficient to eat on. So, the local agency then would only have to pay half of their travel. It was a very attractive way of getting their people trained.

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NEWS ★ Sunday, April 10, 1960

Teachers for Radiological Defense Sought in Valley

Recruiting potential instructors from the Los Angeles area for radiological defense is the mission this week of a former Valley resident, Mrs. Jean Fuller.

The recently opened Western Instructor Training Center, Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization in Alameda, trains personnel from all units of government, federal, state and local, as well as security, plant protection and administrative personnel of industrial plants, she said.

Returns to Coast
Students attend the training center from all states west of the Mississippi and in turn return to their own area to instruct others in radiological monitoring.

Mrs. Fuller stated the 40-hour course is comprehensive in that it includes basic concepts of nuclear science and radioactivity as necessary.

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D Mission

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The recently opened Western Instructor Training Center, Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization, Alameda, trains personnel from all units of government, Federal, State and local, as well as security, plant protection, and administrative personnel of industrial plants. Students attend the training center from all states west of the Mississippi; and, in turn, they return to their own area to instruct others in radiological monitoring.

The 40-hour course is comprehensive in that it includes basic concepts of nuclear science and radioactivity as necessary background information and at the same time offers technical content and essentials of teaching methods considered to be of most practical use in developing, organizing and conducting local training classes. There is no fee for the courses and housing at the facility in Alameda is offered at a minimum rate.

Mrs. Fuller is a native of

background information and at the same time offers technical content and essentials of teaching methods considered to be of most practical use in



MRS. JEAN FULLER
Tells Instructor Need

developing, organizing and conducting local training classes.

There is no fee for the courses and housing at the facility in Alameda is offered at a minimum rate.

Mrs. Fuller, a native of Los Angeles and formerly national director of women's activities for the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization, executive office of the White House, returned to the West Coast in 1958 to accept a position with the American Express Co.

List Number

When the new training center opened in January she rejoined OCDM to participate in this vital aspect of national defense, feeling that training people in protective measures

Radiological Monitor Course Completed

Jack C. Radnich of Deming has completed a radiological monitor training course for instructors, it was reported Thursday.

Radnich, State Department of

Los Angeles, and formerly National Director of Women's Activities for the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization, Executive Office of the White House.

against the threat of nuclear radiation is of utmost importance, Mrs. Fuller said. During the period of April 11-15 she may be contacted through the Los Angeles office of Civil Defense, HOLLYWOOD 2-1271.

Everson-Sumas News
5/1/60

Completes Course

Jack C. Radnich, Asst. Dist. Administrator, Dept. of Natural Resources, Deming Dist. Headquarters, has just completed a Radiological Monitor Training Course for Instructors at the new Western Instructor Training Center, Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization, Alameda, California.

These trained instructors in Radiological Defense return to their home communities and conduct training, first, within their governmental or industrial organizations, and then, for the additional personnel who will be required to augment existing government units.

Two Complete Radiological Monitor Course

Two Cheyenneites recently completed a radiological monitor training course for instructors at the new Western Instructor Training Center, office of civil and defense mobilization, at Alameda, Calif.

Jon F. McMahon Jr., 1622 Oxford Dr., training officer for the Wyoming highway department, and David J. Sellegren, 5046 Seminole Red., of the federal aviation agency, air traffic control specialist at the Cheyenne municipal airport, will conduct training within their governmental or industrial organizations. The center trains instructors in non-military defense.

Students attend the training center from all states west of the Mississippi.

Berkeley Gazette
April 14, 1960



So We Hear...

By J. R. "Kacy" Ward

Sign on stamp machine in lobby of the Berkeley Post Office: Recently in Mexico City... Evelyn E. Alley, 1906 Vine St., has been issued a notary public commission...

J. W. Greer, chemist in charge, Meat Inspection Laboratory, Agricultural Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, has completed a radiological monitor training course for instructors at the new Western Instructor Training Center, Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization, Alameda... Trained instructors in turn conduct training of personnel who will be required to augment existing units of government and industry for emergency operation in event of enemy attack... Greer lives here at 1433 Edith St...

Disaster Training Program

The General Course

Stein: What kind of classes were given there?

Fuller: Basically, the overall title was radiological defense. [She quotes from Information Bulletin] Its "primary purpose is to develop instructors who will return to their home communities and conduct training within their own organizations or among own personnel who will augment existing units of government and industry in emergency operation."

We had a one week course and then we had a two week course. The one week course was a general comprehension of the effects of fallout and the protection for it. The second week was radiological defense. This was, here again, I say, primarily a police and fire-- [she reads again from Information Bulletin] "learning to use and understand the radiological detection instruments." It was a highly technical course.

Then, we had courses in civil defense management. That was the total concept of developing a civil defense organization within the resources of your community. In other words, not the old volunteer with the tin helmet and the bucket of sand. The authorities of the community are responsible to the citizens in time of a disaster. And how to set up an emergency organization with your own resources, what the fire chief should do, what the police chief should do, what the health services should do, what the food services should do, things like that. So, that's called civil defense management.

Stein: So, you were right back in the same work you had been doing before.

Fuller: Yes.

Stein: What are these things you're quoting from?

Fuller: This is the official bulletin. The Information Bulletin went out when the Training Center was dedicated. [Looking through scrapbook] I was just trying to flip through here and find--I'll give the whole thing to you. Here's a picture taken over at the Presidio where we had quite a few men sent to us by the army. Then many of them would be sent by police, fire, and sheriff's departments, mainly from the San Francisco Bay Area. But there were some from all the western states, including Alaska and Hawaii.

Fuller: When we got more into the shelter management phase, by this time--this was a couple of years later--we're talking now about the fallout shelters in public buildings, where you would establish a shelter area in a basement of a large commercial building. Then, we got into shelter management.

You just can't crowd one thousand or even five hundred into a shelter and expect them to stay there one week on biscuits and water without having psychological problems as well as physical problems. You take the man off the street who maybe had been driving a cement truck who's hot and sweaty and you stick him in with a woman with two or three kids who's very allergic to body odors--and how to crowd a lot of people in and keep down the dissension as much as possible.

So, we went into very innovative sorts of things of trying to teach people how to set up, who should assert the leadership in the shelter and set up a small organization. It would have to be on a twenty-four-hour-a-day basis and on the assumption that you're going into a basement building where you've got nothing but a concrete floor. Comes time to go to sleep, how are you going to bed them down?

The problem of smoking always came up, came up early. Well, what are you going to do about people who smoke and other people are allergic to smoking? My Irish friend, Bob Duffy, whose picture I just saw in there [the scrapbook], he said, "Don't worry about that." He said, "Within one day nobody will have any cigarettes left and that problem will be gone."

Stein: He's probably right.

Fuller: Yes. He'd say, "Don't worry about that. That's only a twenty-four-hour problem."

How are you going to brush your teeth? How are you going to do this, how are you going to do that? Sometimes they threw the darndest questions at you and you had to be awfully fast on your feet to think up an answer. It was a real challenge because people do have imaginations after they get the picture of what you're trying to do.

The Livermore Shelter

Fuller: Then, we had a couple of interesting experiences over at Livermore. It was part of the navy radiological test program. They built an underground shelter, a one hundred passenger, you might say, underground shelter. It was a pretty sophisticated shelter. Some submarine designers got in on the act and they had designed it pretty well. They had sanitary toilets at the back and the room was about as wide as eighteen feet and perhaps thirty feet long. They had run several tests with navy personnel.

It was a completely shut down shelter, in that it had blast doors that shut and locked from the inside but it did have air vents. You see, fallout could come down an open chimney and come into this room. But a fallout shelter can get fresh air if you have an air pipe going up that's crooked at the top and far enough from the ground that it's not going to suck up dust. Fresh air can come in that way. [Pipe vents downward at top] So, any sort of a shelter that we proposed would have air vents that looked like a macaroni bend up there.

That's the year they had no extra blowers. We had several courses who went over there. We took them over and they stayed there for two nights. People are fun and funny. The way the navy had stretched these bunks were interesting. They had poles up and poles across and then they had canvas stretched between the cross poles like a continuous row of cots. But, if the guy in the middle is a heavy snorer and a roller and a tosser everybody else along the line gets the ripple effect of it.

The first night people are inclined to be a little giddy about the whole thing, even though they're being serious about it. But, you never have to worry on the second night. They're all so tired on the second night they go to sleep and nobody says anything and the snorers snore and the other ones don't complain.

But, that was an interesting experience. I went into the darned thing twice and, as I say, we had several classes over there. After two I let the men do it.

Stein: What else did you teach?

Fuller: The whole thing was combined into what we called civil defense management, management of emergency resources, radiological defense, and radiological monitoring. There were individual subjects within that, but that was the umbrella of the whole thing.

Staff Members

Stein: Who were some of the people that you worked with?

Fuller: The personnel?

Stein: Yes.

Fuller: Gerald Horton was the director. He was originally in the army, had been in the chemical corps. He was a fine man, sometimes a little fuddy-duddyish, but he meant well.

We had a very fine instructor in radiological defense. He had a very fine scientific background: Hugh Ivey. He was probably the brainiest one of the lot.

Bob Duffy was a chap from Iowa, university graduate. [Pointing to photograph in scrapbook] There he is. He's about three times that big now. He's gotten so fat. He murdered the King's English. I don't know how he could have graduated from the university. But, he was the best instructor that you can ever imagine. It didn't seem to bother most of our students because they were policemen and firemen. He always said "don't" when he should have been saying "doesn't" and vice versa. But, he had a flair for teaching that was just phenomenal.

He always had a joke to tell that was appropriate to making his teaching point. He never told a joke unless it had a teaching point. Most of the people in the classes were men. I have heard all of Duffy's jokes, frontward and backward, a hundred times, the funny ones and the dirty ones. It was a standing joke--I was the chairman of one particular course or other. The chairman of the course would come in and sit down in the back and just more or less monitor what was going on. It'd get time for Duffy to tell one of his raunchy jokes and he'd look back at me and he'd say, "Mrs. Fuller, don't you have a telephone call to make?" [Laughter] Then, the men would all turn around and look at me and I'd say, "Don't pay any attention to him. I've heard the joke a thousand times." He sort of embarrassed the men sometimes.

[Referring to a photograph of the staff] This was a young fellow from Battle Creek, Michigan. He was just a dear named Tom Steinbacher. He was our, oh let's say, might be our plant manager and purchasing agent, who'd see that all the details were taken care of.

Fuller: [Referring to photograph] This fellow, Dick Liebel, he had been in the U.S. Navy. He was very, very knowledgeable in physics and atomic problems and was a very good instructor on very technical things. He didn't have the flair for teaching that some of the others did, but I would say a fine instructor. So, that's the crew.

Oh, then there was Perdue, yes. Perdue came out from Battle Creek, [Michigan], but for some reason or other we thought it would be best that he go back to Battle Creek. So, he did.

Stein: What was his first name?

Fuller: W.D. P-e-r-d-u-e. He just wasn't very effective.

A Variety of Students

Fuller: [Looking at photograph] Here are Alaskan students who came down. Yes, the Alaskan State Police, 1960, March 17, 1960. That's very interesting. They didn't know a darned thing about civil defense when they came down, but they were very nice people. This fellow drove down and brought his wife with him.

They no sooner got back to Anchorage, Alaska, than that terrific earthquake hit and all hell broke loose. So, we were of course very concerned about them and whether they had had time to get anything organizationally set up in that awful earthquake situation. We also learned a lot from them. They came back down again and they sent some others from Alaska, too, after the earthquake.

Stein: Had they been able to get anything set up after the earthquake?

Fuller: No, not really, but what they had learned made them able to set things up in a--to improvise. They hadn't realized that they could call on the air force to do thus and the other. There's an air force base right out of there. They told us later that many of the things that we had taught them had certainly been of help to them, but they really hadn't had time to get fully organized.

[Reading from newspaper clippings in scrapbook] "Medical men attend special health course in Alameda." We did that in cooperation with the U.S. Department of Health. "Medical personnel, physicians, surgeons, dentists osteopaths, sanitarians, hospital administrators, health personnel from eighteen states gathered here for the week long course."

Fuller: There we set up within the building where we fed the Seventh Day Adventists a two hundred bed emergency mobile hospital. I believe I mentioned to you those big hospitals that we had in truck trailers. We just had it hauled in and then they had to take it out of the trucks and set it all up as it would be set up. Plus, the Health Service wanted them to get in a water purification unit. So, they did that and that was a very good course. That's a special exercise.

One of the most interesting courses to me: we had an area which we used as a mock-up civil defense shelter. We just put all shelter management students in there for one night instead of the two nights that we did over at Livermore. They were just the best courses that we ever had. We sort of put them in cold. We'd been talking to them for two days. Then, we'd put them in here and say, "Okay, go to it."

Have you ever heard of Truth or Consequences, New Mexico?

Stein: No.

Fuller: Well, there is such a town. It's about midway in New Mexico between Albuquerque and the southern border. It's evidently a very pictureque town. There are a lot of retired military people there and others. They just turned out to be the best group.

What we wanted to develop is the leadership of a shelter. Here are fifty people put in together. Who emerges as the leader? How does he do it? Who does he get to help him? Who responds? Well, this retired lieutenant colonel was the obvious-- He was quiet, the strong, quiet type, but he was the obvious leader.

In that same group, also from Truth or Consequences, was a very dear doctor, Dr. Lamb. He became the assistant shelter manager. The next day I wish I had had a recorder to listen to Dr. Lamb because he told us so many things that were extremely important that he knew from his medical knowledge that would meet situations. We didn't record it, darn it. He just stood up and started making a speech. We weren't set up for it. If we'd had any idea he was going to do it, it really would have been wonderful to record it.

Stein: What sort of people did you discover would emerge in leadership roles?

Fuller: A very great variety. There's no set pattern. It's no set pattern at all. In a general term I think men who have had military training and who understand military organization can grasp the situation and come to the fore immediately. Of course, nobody going in this thing

Fuller: realizes that they are being more or less tested. We weren't really testing them as psychologists would test them. We were just letting it develop and see how it rolled. Some of the groups were just lousy, never did get themselves organized.

One time a woman emerged as the obvious leader. She had been very well trained in civil defense prior to coming to the training center. In fact, I think she was a professional in some office in some smaller community. She just took charge and everybody responded.

Whether the test was simulated or not--but you know the little cartoon of the little man in the box, "people are no damn good."

Stein: Yes.

Fuller: Okay. There are some people who act like that and they just withdraw, even though they're in a class and they know they're playing a role, more or less. They just withdraw. They may have leadership quality, but they don't want it to show. Then, others can be very bullyish. They soon become very unpopular.

But, we never had any problems to speak of. We usually had two instructors stay the night with them in the course, but they were so used to it they'd get sleepy and go to sleep in the middle of the night. I mean sleep on the hard floor.

Stein: Would you ever be given that job of staying the night?

Fuller: Oh, sure, I'd do it. We rotated it.

More About the Staff

Fuller: Had another man on staff. Don't seem to have a picture of him there. I just thought of him. His name was Bill McCampbell. Bill had been an assistant civil defense director in Fresno and then he had worked on the California State Disaster Plan. That was a contract plan to establish a statewide disaster plan, a coordinated one. And also, interesting--you may recall my telling you about my second assistant that I had in Battle Creek, Mary Ellen Pangle--she worked on that same plan along with Bill McCampbell. They both did a fine job. Then, Bill came to the Western Training Center as an instructor.

He was an excellent instructor, particularly in the field of management, because he understood city and county government and had had to work out the problems himself at his own level. And he

Fuller: understood state government. He was a rather imaginative instructor. He worked up the darndest skits, with students in role-playing parts. Though the skits seemed unstructured, they were devised to bring out the teaching points of his lesson plans.

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[begin tape 2, side 2]

Fuller: Anyway, he was a very fine instructor. I enjoyed working with him very much. He had an opportunity to go to OCD's regional office at Olney, Maryland. So, he transferred back there and is actually now the deputy regional director in that area and still working at it hard.

It's funny. He's a Californian born and bred as I am, but he's adjusted to the East Coast very well and very happily. He and his wife just love it back there. For the first year or two that they were back there all they could talk about was coming back to California, but now there's just no talk of it at all. They have a place near Olney, Maryland.

Stein: Now, were you the only woman on the staff at the training center?

Fuller: Oh, no, no, no. We had one other who came. Her name was Grace Bell. She was considerably older than I. She had been a schoolteacher, but she had worked very hard--in fact, I think she was Washington state chairman--for Stuart Symington who had aspirations of being president the year John F. Kennedy was nominated and then elected. So, they found a federal job for her.

She came to our Western Training Center. She didn't fit in with the rest of us very well because she was extremely schoolteacherish. As I say, most of our students were men, mature men, and they didn't like being talked down to like little children. She did have that quality.

Stein: Did she know anything about civil defense or disaster preparedness?

Fuller: Only what we told her. No, she had no experience in it whatever. She was very good on personnel matters. Mr. Horton the director hated personnel matters. Government personnel matters are just terrible sometimes to work out. She was willing to do it and sometimes had to go to bat with the Civil Service Commission over something or other. She did those things mostly. If she taught one hour a week it was a little unusual. They just kept her off the platform because her personality just didn't go over with the older men or with what I'd call mature men. Yet, she was a nice person in her way.

Fuller: Oh, we had one other instructor, William Felder, who was Negro but such a light Negro many people didn't recognize the fact that he was. He was a very, very good instructor and very well versed in radiological defense. When I speak of radiological defense as opposed to shelter management or civil defense management, I'm speaking in the technical term of understanding the properties of the atom and radiation.

When the training center was closed, and that was in 1965, Bill Felder was transferred back to Battle Creek to be on the staff there. He is now with the Office of Transportation in Washington, D.C. and is in a division that's concerned with compliance with training programs as they apply to the Transportation Department. I'm not just sure what it is.

As I say, Bill McCampbell is in the east. Bob Duffy transferred when the training center was closed to the Region VIII Office of Civil Defense in Bothell, Washington. Dick Liebel went back to Battle Creek. He still is there. Tom Steinbacher went back to Battle Creek. They have the staff college there.

They also established an agency, Defense Logistics Supply. Tom Steinbacher is an administrator and that's his home town, too. He was very happy to go back there. So, he's now with DLSC they call it--Defense Logistic Supply Command. It's DLSC, but we always said "Delsy." That's a joint, a tri-service agency of army, navy, and air force. They're responsible for purchasing, procurement of some particular items needed by the military service.

Hugh Ivey, the man who was the most brilliant, unfortunately had a brain tumor and died. We were all very sad and upset. Mr. Horton retired and he lives down in Salinas area, has a small ranch, as we call it in California, and a beautiful daughter who rides show horses. So, they're very happy.

Grace Bell was transferred to Vandenberg Air Force Base and she was in charge of the school for military children on base. That's a perfect job for her because she was just an old schoolteacher-principal type. I haven't heard from her for two or three years. So, I don't know if she's retired or not by now.

VII SIXTH ARMY, PRESIDIO, 1965-1975

Planning Department

Fuller: Then, in 1965, dear government in its wisdom, decided to close the training center. By this time we had been put under the Department of Defense. In the Department of Defense they have a very wonderful system, a referral system: your name goes into a big computer and you have to be willing to take a job--well, first your name goes in for any position available on the West Coast, or the western states let's say, and then if they can't find you a job then you go nationwide.

There was a job came up down in San Diego with the U.S. Navy, Bureau of Yards and Docks, and I would have liked to have had it very much because I was born and raised in Southern California and I'd like to be down there. But there was somebody with the veterans preference that gives you ten points extra, and so I didn't get that one. I was a little downhearted and all of a sudden up popped the computer with a job over at Headquarters-Sixth Army [Presidio, San Francisco].

I went there in--I think it was September 1965--September, October. It was just then that the army was being told that they must get civil defense plans in order. That is, in other words, what the military should do to support the civilian community in time of disaster or a nuclear attack. Because of my background in civil defense I was chosen for that job and it worked in rather well.

Stein: Since this was 1965, that would mean that the Democrats were in office.

Fuller: But I had--when I was at the training center I gained my civil service status.

Stein: So, you were on a civil service track and it would have no bearing at all what party was in office.

Fuller: No. No, I was very fortunate that by that time I was on civil service. It was interesting, though. I had done considerable writing in the way of public-relations-type writing and all sorts of things like that, always for a civilian agency in civilian terminology. Then to have to learn military terminology, never having been in the military, was a bit of a challenge because there's an absolute, set format that is taught by West Point and the military staff colleges of how a plan should be written.

There's a five paragraph format that you have to use in military plans. Certain things go in each paragraph and this is the way everything military is done and it was quite a challenge. [Laughter] Took a couple months to get the hang of it.

My immediate supervisor was a Lieutenant Colonel Jack Tuttle who was just a dear angel. He was very, very helpful to me and very patient. He realized that I knew a heck of a lot about civil defense and he didn't. He knew the word and book of military planning and I didn't. So, he was very patient.

His superior was a civilian, a Mr. Forrest (Mac) McKee. Mr. McKee and I did not hit it off well at all. The first year was probably the most difficult year of my life. Mr. McKee was going through a very unpleasant divorce and he would have a very unpleasant time with his wife over the weekend. It was fight, fight, fight, evidently all the time. There were children involved as well as other things.

He would get to the office on a Monday morning--and I often just wished that I could think of some excuse not to go to work on Monday morning because Mr. McKee wouldn't take his venom out on a secretary, but I was the only female on the professional staff. What that man would do to me on a Monday morning you have no idea. Only time in my life any man has ever treated me the way he treated me. He was just vicious sometimes.

Stein: What would he do?

Fuller: Just verbal abuse. "Goddamned stupid female," you know, "can't understand this." "Why they put a woman in this kind of a job--" Oh, he just would go on and on and on. Colonel Tuttle served as my buffer most of the time, but then Colonel Tuttle had a heart attack and retired. But, about this time came the civil disturbances. It's written in the law that the army must help civilians during civil disturbances.

Stein: Which ones in particular are you talking about?

Fuller: The race riots starting with Selma, Alabama, and then Detroit, New York, San Francisco. The job description that I had said I was a planner for civil defense and disaster and civil disturbance. So, we got into this big project and we had no plans. It was ordered from higher headquarters that we'd better darn well get those plans written. Well, we got into a very, very busy season. I tell you, we worked like dogs. Since I had gotten the hang of the military plans, a good portion of them fell to me to write on civil disturbances.

But, McKee continued to be unpleasant. You know, it's fortunate in the military that they change people about as they do. Two Vietnam veterans, lieutenant colonels, came into the office. They expanded the office. One was Lieutenant Colonel [Roy] Kite, and the other was Lieutenant Colonel John Hada, who was the Nisei [American-born Japanese], the great big bear that I have mentioned. They used to observe how Mr. McKee would stomp, scream, and shout at me.

So, the two of them took it upon themselves. They went into Mr. McKee's office and they closed the door. They had a good, one-hour talk with him. There was nothing but thunder coming out of the room. One of the secretaries came out around the hallway and came to me and she said, 'My God, Jean, do you think they're going to come out of there alive?' I said, 'What's going on?' She said, 'It's all about you!' I said, 'Well, please God take care of me.'

So, finally the doors flew open. Hada came tromping through my office. He had that mad look on his face like the big bear. The offices were in rows like this and doors in between each one. Hada came tromping through. Colonel Kite came in and he stopped and he said, 'Jean, it's going to be all right from now on. Don't you worry about a thing.' I said, 'What do you mean, Roy?' He said, 'That man is not going to treat you the way he has treated you and that's a vow.' Well, of course, I'm deeply indebted to the two fine lieutenant colonels.

Just about that time Mr. McKee's divorce was settled and he met and ultimately married a very, very nice girl. Bless her heart, she got McKee's nerves calmed down I think. And now Helen and Mac McKee and I are the dearest of friends. When I was sickest up here he and Helen came up. When my son died they came up to see me, and things like that. They'd say, 'Jeannie, just let us know if there's anything we can do.'

Every once in a while if we stop--they live in Marinwood--if we stop by to see them Mac will say, 'Jean, how on earth did you ever put up with me?' I said, 'Mac, I don't know how I ever put up

Fuller: with you. You were absolutely the meanest man on two feet that I have ever known in my life." I said, "But, I survived." He said, "I think you understand." I said, "Yes, Mac, I do, but it was sure rough." But, I learned a lot from the man. I learned I had a heck of a lot of intestinal fortitude too because it had never been tested like that before. But, as I say, that saga turned out very happily.

I had the experience of doing something that my friend, Wes, said would be extremely difficult for any woman, trained only in the civilian community or civilian government, to be thrown into a man's job to do a man's work, and particularly in the military which--the army much more so than the navy--is very fussy about format and protocol and all things like that. Well, the army is fussy about protocol. But, it was an experience I'll never forget.

The days of the civil disturbance stuff were extremely tense for all of us from the generals right on down because we just didn't know what was going to happen or where it was going to happen. We had to have very detailed military type plans of just who would do what, where, and how and in conjunction with state and city officials.

So, we had many conferences with city officials so that they would have an understanding-- Our general at that time was very emphatic that we would not do any planning for a particular city unless the mayor and the vice-mayor knew what it was we had in mind and why we had to do it. The response from the civilian community leaders was excellent. They said, "Oh, what a relief to know that if we can't handle things," they can go to the National Guard and if the National Guard can't handle it then there's something higher that they can go to. But, it meant reams and reams and reams and reams of paper that we wrote.

Stein: Were there any opportunities to actually put your plans into action?

Fuller: Not totally, on the West Coast.

Stein: You were writing mostly plans for the West Coast, right?

Fuller: Yes, the West Coast.

Stein: Or were your plans to be nationwide?

Fuller: Sixth Army area. But, you know, the problems in and around Washington, D.C. are public knowledge. Where troops were moved in they are on a standby basis because the local people couldn't handle it.

Stein: Does the Presidio area take in Southern California?

Fuller: The Presidio is a little installation which at that time was only one installation within the Sixth Army area. The Sixth Army included at that time thirteen western states. Under the Sixth Army command-- this is active army--we had Fort MacArthur; Fort Lewis, Washington; Fort Carson, Colorado; as well as the Presidio. Now, the Presidio is just a headquarters post for the Sixth Army. It was at that time. Then, the Sixth Army general also did not supervise but gave guidance to the National Guard of the various states.

Stein: I just wondered if the army had been called on during the Watts riots, for instance.

Fuller: No. This is a little classified area, anyway.

Public Affairs Office

Staff

Stein: Is there anything more we should say about planning before we move on to Public Affairs Office?

Fuller: No, I think we've about completed the work in the planning office. I will finish off by saying that it was probably the greatest challenge of my work in government, the most difficult, but fortunately turned out very fine. Then, the army was ordered to reduce staff. This was nationwide. So many jobs were abolished here and so many jobs were abolished there. Mine was one that was abolished.

I was then eligible for another job. I was extremely fortunate that there was a position open in the Public Affairs Office in community relations. I was so glad it was open because I had always dreaded having to bump somebody. You know, terrible unhappinesses can arise from bumping people. If you have more seniority, you can bump and then they've got to bump somebody else.

Stein: You start a whole little domino effect.

Fuller: Yes and the last guy on the totem pole loses his job. It's never pleasant. So, I was so glad it was an open position. They called me over for an interview and I first talked with Lieutenant Colonel Isabelle Swartz who was in charge of personnel and planning for the

Fuller: Public Affairs Office. I'd had a little contact with her but not much up until that time. She just treated me marvelously. She said, 'Well, I'd like to suggest that you go back to your office and stand by. As soon as I can set up an appointment with Colonel Mason, who is chief of public affairs, I'll give you a call and get yourself over here as fast as you can.' Their building was about a block away from the headquarters building.

So, I did. I went in to see Colonel Mason and it was just love at first sight. He's an extreme extrovert, great public relations type, charm from the top of his head down to his little toe. I don't know whether he'd been brainwashed by Lieutenant Colonel Swartz that I was just the only thing on the Presidio that could fill the bill, but that's the way he seemed to act. He pleaded with me, would I please come to his office. [Laughter] I just wanted to go to his office. Oh, he was just a real peacheroo.

He had a deputy, Colonel Bob Williams, who was a completely different type of man. He was a very quiet man. He knew military organization. He was actually not a public relations type person. The two of them were a very good balance as far as the office was concerned, although I know there were some rather loud words coming out of the front office every once in a while. Colonel Williams was just marvelous and, in fact, I consider him and his wife just some of my dearest friends now. They live over in Napa. It was a very happy situation with me.

My roommate, as we call each other, was a man named Arthur Timbo. He was chief of community relations and I was just in community relations. He was a man who had had a great deal of military service and had retired as a colonel, but he was in the reserves. He had originally come from North Dakota, National Guard, and had fought all through the Pacific and whatnot like that. At one time he had been at the Presidio in uniform as the chief of public affairs.

He knew his job thoroughly. Sweet, kind, gracious man and he and I just had a very fine, happy association. When you're confined with a man in an office, well, say ten feet long and this wide [indicates about 10 feet], our desks facing each other--we each had different responsibilities and helped each other out as best we could at any time. He'd cover jobs for me and I'd cover jobs for him sometimes. It was a very happy working relationship. We shared one secretary and she was a dear person, highly nervous, but very conscientious.

Fuller: Mr. Timbo's primary task was to work with the civilian aides to the secretary of the army. In each state the secretary of the army appoints one very prominent citizen, usually on the recommendation of the chief of the National Guard, the adjutant general, I should say, and the governor. They meet once a year in Washington, D.C. with the secretary of the army. Then, within the Sixth Army area they met once a year. So, because of their importance as civilians in the community they have a great deal of influence and some of them take it very serious and do a tremendous amount of work for the army. They're great public relations to have on your side and, of course, they're unpaid men. They do get their expenses paid to Washington, but that's all.

For instance, Ben Swig of the Fairmont Hotel, he's been a civilian aide for a thousand years. He does so much for all the military services. He's very elderly now and has not been well.

For instance, when Letterman Hospital was built he gave the money--there were no plans in the hospital, as it was designed, for a theater. A good portion of the men in a military hospital are ambulatory. He insisted that there was going to be a theater in Letterman Hospital. So, he got very emphatic with the secretary of the army about it, that there would be a theater. He was told by the secretary that there just were no funds for a theater. So, he gave them outright \$150,000 and he said, "Now, if I can give you \$150,000 you can find the rest of the money. I want you to build that theater and I want it to be dedicated to General Schwartz," who was evidently before my time a very prominent general at Letterman in medical service.

So, that's the kind of people who serve as civilian aides. Of course, Ben Swig is known as being one of the most generous people in the whole wide world. I think it interesting, you know with his Jewish background, that he's one of the patron saints of the Catholic university at Santa Clara.

Stein: Oh, yes. University of Santa Clara.

Fuller: Yes, he has just given them umpteen thousand million dollars. So, the man has done a lot of great things.

Responsibilities

Fuller: Well, anyway, my work under the direction of Colonel Mason was to develop a camaraderie among the women, prominent women of San Francisco, with the Presidio, to acquaint them with the Presidio. So, I proceeded to do that and had absolutely no compunction at all about calling them. I'd call up the most important women I could think of from Mrs. [Mortimer] Fleischhaker to Mrs. [Randolph] Hearst and invite them to have luncheon at the Presidio in the name of the general's wife or something or other like that. I began to build up quite a little following of very high level women in San Francisco to ostensibly meet the general's wife, but then of course we'd give them a little program to brief them on military matters and what was going on at the Presidio and so on and so forth like that.

We became extremely conscious of "ecologists" and we had a great deal of dissension from some of the more vocal ecologists of the Bay Area about this, that, and the other. We didn't dare cut a branch off a tree without consulting Amy Somebody-or-other. They were constantly troubling us. So, I was the one that had to smooth the waters.

Stein: That must have been a difficult task.

Fuller: Yes. There's a little creek called Lobos Creek and it goes from Mountain Lake, which is where DeAnza first camped, down to the ocean. It's a little creek that's very verdant and gets very full of moss and tules and bullfrogs and tadpoles and whatnot like that. Sometimes it get so clogged up that it floods over on some people's property there along the Seacliff area. So, the Seacliff people would want us to take care of it because it was ruining their places.

But there were also some biology teachers in the San Francisco school system who think they own that creek because they bring all their little kids down there. They have a whole tour to go around the Presidio, all these lovely little crevices and things where they can find waterbugs and things like that and different kinds of wildflowers and plantlife.

The creek had gotten so gummed up, and we'd had so many complaints from quite a few neighbors because it was overflowing all the time, that the commander told the engineer to get some bulldozers down there and clean it out, so the water could flow to the sea as it naturally has for eons and eons.

Fuller: Well, I tell you, the roof fell in! Half the San Francisco city teachers' biology classes--and there was one woman named Amy Something-or-other who was very instrumental in the Golden Gate National Recreation Area. She was extremely vocal. She just never would quit.

I had to tromp up and down that dumb Lobos Creek with her and two of her teacher friends arguing the whys and the wherefores of why that creek had to be opened and she making a big issue in the newspaper that we were killing all the tadpoles. Well, you know tadpoles come back the first rain. I was in no physical condition to do it. She's a much younger woman. I guess she's in her thirties. So, she's got lots of energy and hiking boots on. [Laughter] Oh, I've had so much trouble with Amy. That's all behind me now. But anything concerning the ecology of the Presidio fell on me.

I don't know if you know much about quail. We have them around here [Oakmont Village] by the hundreds and I love them. When they're tiny babies they're just--the first day--they're only yea [one inch] high. They get lost in my dychondra out there. That's a jungle to them.

Well, one young couple was walking through the Presidio on a Sunday and they found a batch of new quail. There are lots of quail on the Presidio. The little quail had hopped off of the curbing and were down in the gutter and they can't get back up again. So, this woman--this wasn't Amy; this was somebody else with the Sierra Club--she came storming in. She insisted that we build quail bridges. Well, we didn't know what quail bridges were.

Stein: Quail bridges?

Fuller: Yes. We said that if she could tell us, describe to us, or draw for us what quail bridges were we'd be happy to accommodate her if it was possible. She wanted bridges built so those little quail could get up on the curbing again.

I had just moved to Oakmont. I said, "Look, ma'am, those quail stay that small for just one day." I said, "I happen to have a whole flock of them in my backyard. Mama quail and papa quail take them all through the yard and it happens every time there's a new brood. They get down in the gutter. But, do you know what happens? Mama just leads them all around the corner till she finds a driveway and she comes right back up and she comes right back into the yard again." I said, "You don't need to worry about those little quail. Their mamas will take care of them."

Fuller: She wrote a letter about it. She wrote a letter to the general. We always kept saying to her, "If you can find a design for a quail bridge we'll build one." Well, you'd build it out of toothpicks and I don't think the quail would use it anyway. But, I got some real kooks. [Laughter]

Bicentennial Planning

Fuller: Well, then, let's see 19-- This is 1976 the year of the bicentennial. About three years ago primarily at Colonel Swartz' prodding, who was a real history buff, particularly military history--she began loading me down with stuff. "Now, Jean, you be reading this," and "Jean, you be reading this and reading this and reading this." So, I got to be almost assistant historian of the Presidio. They did hire a Presidio historian a couple of years ago. So, I got very involved in the history of San Francisco and the Presidio.

We had an old, old history of the Presidio that had just been typed out years ago. The pages were all yellow. Some major had written it and put it all together. It was all in military terminology but had a lot of good interesting stuff there.

One of my other jobs was to run the tour program. I had tour guides to take groups--usually children, sometimes elderly folks or any other kind of group--on these tours through the Presidio. I had this material to train the tour guides. These young kids were smart enough, but this was an awful lot of military gobbledygook to go through. So, one day I decided: I'm going to put that in terminology that a fifth grade child could understand. So, I did. We had printed thousands of those and distributed them.

Then, as 1976 began coming closer and closer, having worked for the military so long, I realized that the time had come that I was going to have to write a plan. You can get things done in the military if you've got a plan and your commander approves it. I started writing a military plan for the Presidio's bicentennial and concurrently began heckling our finance people for some money--which they're always talking poor mouth and they can't find any money--for the uniforms of about 1850. You see, it was about 1850 when the American Army occupied the Presidio for the first time, and they have stayed there ever since.

So, I began dreaming up things that we could do at the Presidio during the bicentennial. It took a lot of work and a lot of research. I was committing them, though they all didn't realize it at the time,

Fuller: that they were going to spend some money which they hadn't budgeted for but which they--I was far enough in advance so that they would have to budget for it if I got the commander's signature. So, when I got the thing all put together in draft, or ready to go to the printers I should say, I hand carried it around to twenty offices and to the chiefs. I'd say, "Now, read this."

The only one that gave me any trouble was the comptroller who wanted to read it overnight. Well, he's Mr. Moneyman and there was nothing I could do but let him read it. By golly, the next morning at eight o'clock his secretary called and he said, "Mrs. Fuller, so-and-so signed your plan." I said, "Fine." I took it to the engineer. He was a real good friend of mine and he knew I was causing him a lot of trouble but he signed it anyway. So, I finally got the thing put into print. I took it to the colonel, Colonel Kane. Colonel Kane was extremely pleased and extremely proud.

You've been here long enough and have read enough in the papers about the controversies in San Francisco over the bicentennial and all the people who've been in and out of, trying to do something. I used to attend all their meetings [of the San Francisco Bicentennial Commission] and listen to all their plans and programs but nobody had any money to do anything. That's how I got into my bicentennial planning and a good portion of it they have been able to put into effect.* I'm very glad for that.

Colonel Kane was so very pleased because he had something when visitors would come and say, "Well, have you got any plans for the bicentennial?" "Here it is." I began getting requests, or he began getting requests which were thrown to me, from all of the armies because none of them had put anything down on paper. They were all just sort of wait-till-tomorrow about it.

Then, Dr. [Albert] Shumate (of the California Historical Society), he was on that-- You see, Mayor [Joe] Alioto wanted him to head the bicentennial committee and he just wouldn't do it. He would have been the perfect man for it, but he didn't want it so he didn't.

*A copy of "Presidio of San Francisco Bicentennial Plan" and a letter from Major Michael J. Williams, dated 21 January 1977, describing the changes made in the plan after Mrs. Fuller's retirement, are on deposit in The Bancroft Library.

Fuller: But anyway, Dr. Shumate--it was quite interesting. He had called a meeting. Various **segments**, representatives from various organizations in San Francisco came to this meeting. They were all supposed to bring their proposals for what they wanted. What most of them wanted was thousands of dollars in money to put on a pageant. I knew there was no money in the San Francisco budget for anything like that. They had, you know, maybe it would just be two pieces of paper and that was that. There were about twenty people around the room. He kept going around very graciously asking each one of them to explain what it was they wanted.

I thought, 'Well confound him. Isn't he ever going to get to the Presidio.' Then, I noticed he had my blue book way down at the bottom of the pile. So, then he said, 'Why, I'm very glad to say that we have one organization in San Francisco that's asking us for no money, but they have a beautiful plan.' Well, then everybody oohed and aahed.

In the meantime I had designed a little shoulder patch. Kids who come out on those tours were just dying for shoulder patches. I also designed a button that we could give to the children. I have one here somewhere. [Mrs. Fuller gets button and other Presidio bicentennial material.]

Stein: How lovely. The button says, "Presidio of San Francisco, Vanguard of Freedom, Bicentennial, 1775-1975, United States Army." What else is there?

Fuller: Well, here's a shoulder patch, again mostly for children. Then we also put out a booklet that shows the various flags of the Sixth Army ["Sixth U.S. Army Flag Book"]. And here's a map that we prepared that tells all about historic forts of the Old West. Here, you can have these.

Stein: Thank you. We'll deposit these in The Bancroft Library along with your interview.*

*Presidio memorabilia are on deposit in The Bancroft Library.

Retirement

Stein: So when did you leave that job. That was just recently then.

Fuller: Yes, dear. I intended to retire on December 31, 1974. Along about September that year something went drastically wrong and they discovered I had Graves disease, which is a very little-known and fortunately not a very usual disease. It's caused from the thyroid. I had an overactive thyroid which no one had discovered. No goiter or anything that anyone saw. When a person normally goes on a radiation scan, a normal person, thyroid shows up ten percent output. Mine showed up eighty-seven.

What it means is that it goes inward and as it grows and goes inward there's no place for the pressure to be relieved except the eyes. Then it pushes your eyes out and you look like a bullfrog. Then I lost my sight. I was declared legally blind.

So, the general said, "Change Jean's orders. She's not going to retire on the thirty-first." Well there I am, sick as a dog. But I had accumulated so much sick leave which most women don't. Most women, you know, if they get a slight stomach ache they take the day off. But I never did that. Just very, very rarely did I have to call in sick. So I had a thousand hours of sick leave. They kept me on full pay until April of '75. In the meantime I've had five different operations so I have a little sight now but not very good.

But I'm grateful for what I have, but it certainly isn't what I had planned for retirement. Particularly in the last ten years of my life I've been buying books and buying books and thinking, "Well I don't have time to read them now, but when I retire I'll read like mad." I can't read. I can read for a little bit, but it hurts quite a bit. So it's very ironic. I've got a bushel of new books in there and I keep thinking, praying, that sight will be restored in this eye. They say maybe it'll get a little better, so I won't give the books away. I won't give up.

Stein: Right.

Fuller: This is--to bring a finale to the dear army. [Takes framed medal off fireplace mantle] This is the second highest award that can be given a civilian.

Stein: I've noticed this medal. It's quite impressive.

Fuller: The only higher award that can be given to a civilian is to a Secretary of the Army. It's all engraved.

Stein: [Reads from medal] For Department of the Army, meritorious civilian service, to Jean Wood Fuller.

Fuller: They gave me four different awards down there. [Gets up again to get framed award] Sure sounds like I'm bragging here today.

Stein: Oh, no, not at all.

Fuller: This is the award.

Stein: This is the plaque that goes with the medal?

Fuller: Yes. See, it has the same.

Stein: [Reads from plaque] "Decoration for meritorious civilian service. For exemplary service from October 1970 to December 1974 as Chief, Community Relations Division, Information Office, Presidio, San Francisco. Mrs. Fuller has conducted a diverse community relations program that has contributed significantly to a harmonious relationship between the installation and its surrounding community. She exhibited the highest degree of expertise, insight and diplomacy in fulfilling her responsibilities. Included among her many successful programs are Operation Friendship Tours, the Green and Clean Tour for Bay Area women, and the Bicentennial plans for the Sixth U.S. Army and Presidio of San Francisco. In addition she has managed the historic trail tour program, military wife of the year program, and the retired generals and colonels conference. Mrs. Fuller's contributions reflect great credit upon herself, the Presidio of San Francisco, the United States Army Forces Command and the Department of the Army." That's very impressive.

Fuller: Wasn't that sweet?

Stein: Yes.

Fuller: I know how much work it is to get one of those prepared and approved. I have helped prepare awards for military men and I know how difficult it is to get them through. So, a lot of work and some dear friends went into the preparation of that. But it was, oh my very favorite Colonel Robert Kane, the commander at the Presidio, and then General E.B. Roberts collaborated on it.

Stein: That was Bernard W. Rogers, who signed this.

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY

JEAN W. FULLER

IS OFFICIALLY COMMENDED

FOR

SPECIAL SERVICE FROM 17 MARCH 1974 TO 1 OCTOBER 1974 WHILE EMPLOYED AS CHIEF, COMMUNITY RELATIONS, INFORMATION OFFICE, PRESIDIO OF SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA. DURING THIS PERIOD MRS FULLER PERFORMED AN EXTREMELY BENEFICIAL AND VITAL TASK FOR THE PRESIDIO OF SAN FRANCISCO BY ENVISIONING, DEVELOPING AND PUBLISHING THE PRESIDIO OF SAN FRANCISCO BICENTENNIAL PLAN. THIS 60 PAGE DOCUMENT IS A COMPREHENSIVE PRESENTATION AND PROPOSAL OF THE PROJECTS, ACTIVITIES AND PROGRAMS FOR THE PRESIDIO TO UNDERTAKE DURING THE ARMY BICENTENNIAL YEAR 1975 AS WELL AS THE NATIONAL SAN FRANCISCO AND PRESIDIO BICENTENNIAL IN 1976. THE PRESIDIO BICENTENNIAL PROGRAM, BASED ON MRS FULLER'S PLAN, WILL DERIVE TANGIBLE BENEFITS IN THE FORM OF GOODWILL AND RECOGNITION OF THE ARMY'S MANY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE BAY AREA COMMUNITY.

11 December 1974

ROBERT V. KANE
COLONEL, ADA
COMMANDING
PRESIDIO OF SAN FRANCISCO

2/

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY

DECORATION FOR MERITORIOUS CIVILIAN SERVICE

254b

JEAN W. FULLER

HAS RECEIVED OFFICIAL COMMENDATION FOR MERITORIOUS PERFORMANCE OF DUTY

CITATION:

FOR EXEMPLARY SERVICE FROM OCTOBER 1970 to DECEMBER 1974 AS CHIEF, COMMUNITY RELATIONS DIVISION, INFORMATION OFFICE, PRESIDIO OF SAN FRANCISCO. MRS FULLER HAS CONDUCTED A DIVERSE COMMUNITY RELATIONS PROGRAM THAT HAS CONTRIBUTED SIGNIFICANTLY TO A HARMONIOUS RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE INSTALLATION AND ITS SURROUNDING COMMUNITY. SHE EXHIBITED THE HIGHEST DEGREE OF EXPERTISE, INSIGHT, AND DIPLOMACY IN FULFILLING HER RESPONSIBILITIES. INCLUDED AMONG HER MANY SUCCESSFUL PROGRAMS ARE THE OPERATION FRIENDSHIP TOURS, THE GREEN AND CLEAN TOUR FOR BAY AREA WOMEN, AND THE BICENTENNIAL PLANS FOR THE SIXTH U. S. ARMY AND PRESIDIO OF SAN FRANCISCO. IN ADDITION, SHE HAS MANAGED THE HISTORIC TRAIL TOUR PROGRAM, MILITARY WIFE OF THE YEAR PROGRAM, AND THE RETIRED GENERALS AND COLONELS CONFERENCE. MRS FULLER'S CONTRIBUTIONS REFLECT GREAT CREDIT UPON HERSELF, THE PRESIDIO OF SAN FRANCISCO, THE UNITED STATES ARMY FORCES COMMAND, AND THE DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY.

BERNARD W. ROGERS
GENERAL, U. S. ARMY
COMMANDING
UNITED STATES ARMY FORCES COMMAND

Fuller: Yes, he was Commanding General, U.S. Army Forces Command.

Stein: I think that about wraps it up. You've been very kind and patient, and I'd like to thank you for all the hours you've put in on this project. This is valuable information.

Fuller: I certainly thank you, and Bancroft Library for selecting me to participate in this oral history program. I don't know if it's going to be of great value to historians, but I assure you, my children and grandchildren will appreciate it.

[end side 2, tape 2]

Transcriber: Teresa Allen
Final Typist: Keiko Sugimoto

APPENDIX A

TWENTY-FIFTH REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

Chicago, Illinois

July 7, 1952



ORDER of BUSINESS



Republican National Committee

Because of radio and television commitments, all sessions of Convention must commence on time. Delegates and Alternates are requested to be in their seats promptly.

— Official Program —

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

MONDAY, JULY 7, 1952 — 11:30 A.M. (D.S.T.)

Convention Called to Order, 11:30 A.M. by Honorable Guy George Gabrielson,
Chairman of the Republican National Committee

Singing of the National Anthem

Invocation by the Reverend Doctor Joseph Simonson,
National Lutheran Council, New York

Greetings to the Convention by Honorable Martin H. Kennelly, Chairman of the
Citizens' Committee and Mayor of the City of Chicago

Address of Welcome on behalf of the State of Illinois by Honorable William G. Stratton,
State Treasurer and Republican Nominee for Governor of Illinois

Call for Convention read by Mrs. Charles P. Howard,
Secretary of the Republican National Committee

Temporary Roll of Convention

Election of Temporary Chairman

Election of Temporary Officers of the Convention

Selection of Committees on:

Credentials • Permanent Organization • Rules and Order of Business • Resolutions

Announcement of Time and Place of Committee Meetings

Address of Chairman Guy George Gabrielson

Appointment of Committee to Escort Temporary Chairman to the Chair

Recess until 8:30 P.M. (D.S.T.)

MONDAY, JULY 7, 1952 — 8:30 P.M. (D.S.T.)

Convention Called to Order by Honorable Guy George Gabrielson,
Chairman Republican National Committee

Singing of the National Anthem

Oath of Allegiance

Invocation by His Eminence Samuel Cardinal Stritch, Archbishop of Chicago

Music

Temporary Chairman, Walter S. Hallanan, Escorted to Chair

Introduction of Keynote Speaker by the Temporary Chairman

Keynote Address by General of the Army Douglas MacArthur

Miscellaneous Business

Adjournment until Tuesday, July 8, 11:30 A.M. (D.S.T.)

TUESDAY, JULY 8, 1952 — 11:30 A.M. (D.S.T.)

Convention Called to Order by the Temporary Chairman

Singing of the National Anthem

Invocation by the Reverend Doctor J. H. Clayborn,
Bishop of the Methodist Church, Little Rock, Arkansas

Address by Honorable Styles Bridges of New Hampshire,
Republican Leader of the United States Senate

Address by Mrs. Marguerite S. Church, Member of Congress from Illinois

Address by Honorable James P. Kem, United States Senator from Missouri

Address by Honorable Archibald J. Carey, Member of the Chicago City Council

Report of the Committee on Credentials

Report of the Committee on Permanent Organization

Report of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business

Appointment of Committee to Escort Permanent Chairman to Chair

Recess until 8:30 P.M. (D.S.T.)

TUESDAY, JULY 8, 1952 — 8:30 P.M. (D.S.T.)

Convention Called to Order by the Temporary Chairman

Invocation by Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver of the Temple of Cleveland, Ohio

Singing of the National Anthem

Permanent Chairman Escorted to Chair

Introduction of the Permanent Chairman of the Convention

Address by the Permanent Chairman

Address by Honorable Herbert Hoover, former President of the United States,
"A New Declaration of Independence"

Address by Honorable Howard Pyle, Governor of Arizona,
"What is Right for America?"

Adjournment until Wednesday, July 9, 11:30 A.M. (D.S.T.)

Because of radio and television commitments, all sessions of Convention must commence on time. Delegates and Alternates are requested to be in their seats promptly.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 9, 1952 — 11:30 A.M. (D.S.T.)

Convention Called to Order by Permanent Chairman
 Singing of the National Anthem
 Invocation by Reverend Bishop Fred Pierce Corson,
 President of the Council of Bishops, Methodist Church, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Music

Address by Honorable John S. Fine, Governor of Pennsylvania
 Address by Mrs. Gilford Mayes of Idaho,
 Assistant Chairman of the Republican National Committee
 Address by Honorable Herbert B. Warburton of Delaware,
 Chairman of the Young Republican National Federation
 Address by Honorable Patrick J. Hurley,
 Republican Nominee for Senator from New Mexico
 Address by Honorable Joseph R. McCarthy, United States Senator from Wisconsin
 Report of the Committee on Resolutions
 Recess until 8:30 P.M. (D.S.T.)

WEDNESDAY, JULY 9, 1952 — 8:30 P.M. (D.S.T.)

Convention Called to Order by the Permanent Chairman
 Singing of the National Anthem
 Invocation by Dr. Harrison R. Anderson,
 former Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of the United States, Chicago, Illinois
 Music

Address by Mrs. Katharine St. George, Member of Congress from New York
 Address by Honorable Walter H. Judd, Member of Congress from Minnesota
 Address by Honorable Harry P. Cain, United States Senator from Washington
 Roll Call of States for Nominations for President of the United States
 Nominations for President of the United States
 Roll Call of States for Selection of a Nominee for President of the United States
 Adjournment until Thursday, July 10, 11:30 A.M. (D.S.T.)

THURSDAY, JULY 10, 1952 — 11:30 A.M. (D.S.T.)

Convention Called to Order by Permanent Chairman
 Singing of the National Anthem
 Invocation by the Reverend Arthur J. Payne
 of the Enod Baptist Church, Baltimore, Maryland
 Music
 Address by Mrs. Gladys E. Heinrich Knowles,
 Republican National Committeewoman for Montana
 Address by Honorable Albert P. Morano, Member of Congress from Connecticut
 Roll Call of States for Nominations for Vice President of the United States
 Nominations for Vice President of the United States
 Roll Call of States for Selection of a Nominee for Vice President of the United States
 Election of National Committee and announcement of meeting for organization
 Appointment of Committee to notify Candidate for President
 Appointment of Committee to notify Candidate for Vice President
 Adjournment

Music

The Music Program for the Convention includes these outstanding artists: Lauritz Melchior, James Melton, Fred Waring, John Charles Thomas, Gene Archer, William Warfield, Louis Sudler and Eugene Bailey.

During the Convention, these choral groups will appear:

Monday, July 7—Chicago Swedish Glee Club, 55 members; Harry T. Carlson, Conductor.

Tuesday, July 8—Echo Chorus of the Polish Glee Club, 35 members; George Kalmus, Conductor.

Wednesday, July 9—Paulist Choir; Father O'Malley, Conductor.

Thursday, July 10—Pre-Professional Choral Ensemble, 30 members; Betty Lou Jackson, Conductor.

The Bagpipe Band of the American Legion Post at the Union Stock Yards will play each evening 8-8:30 o'clock, outside Amphitheatre.

The American Legion will conduct the ceremony, Presentation of Colors, daily.

The theme song for the Convention is "Great Day," by Vincent Youmans. The Convention orchestra will be directed by Lou Breese.

The Official Organist in the Amphitheatre will play for a full hour preceding each Convention session.

The organ is a Connsonata, made by C. G. Conn, Ltd., and distributed exclusively in the Chicago area by the W. W. Kimball Company. The pianos used during the Convention are Kimballs.

APPENDIX B

Materials on Deposit in The Bancroft Library

Federal Civil Defense Administration

FCDA Newsletters, "By, For, and About Women in Civil Defense,"
Nos. 2-17, 26

Letter: Russell B. Clanahan to Mimi Stein, 5/31/77

Catalogue of "Operation Cue" prints

94 photographs of "Operation Cue"

Sixth U.S. Army, Presidio, San Francisco

Bicentennial button

Bicentennial patch

"Sixth U.S. Army Flag Book"

"Historic Forts of the Old West"

Letter: Michael J. Williams to Miriam Stein, 1/21/77

"The Presidio of San Francisco, 1776-1976"

"Presidio of San Francisco: Bicentennial Plan"

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